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JAPAN IN THE CHINESE DYNASTIC HISTORIES

Later Han Through Ming Dynasties

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## FOREWORD

Dear Professor Goodrich:

I do not know how to thank you for bringing this translation into the light of day. It should have and would have stayed in oblivion in the files of the Japanese Collection of Columbia University, but for your persistent efforts to redeem my poor translation and put it in its present form.

You are gracious enough to invite me to write a foreword. If I do so, I am afraid it will be the confession of one who actually deserted his own work halfway. I recall, on my way to this country by way of Europe, I stopped at Louvain, Belgium, to visit the much publicized library there and saw the tableau carrying the inscription "Destroyed by German ferocity, rebuilt by American generosity." But it never occurred to me that my translation was to be a case of a child 'deserted by a Japanese pedagogue, saved by an American Sinologue.' The only justification for this abandonment was the belief that it was in much safer hands. But another reason, if you can call it a reason, was that with the conclusion of the Second World War, and with my impending retirement from Columbia University, there occurred a radical shift of my interest in historical study.

When in 1928 I brought over from Japan the nucleus of a Japanese Collection for our Columbia University Library, I was strong in my conviction that the history of my country should be rewritten and could be rewritten here in this country with less difficulty than in my own. Among other things, the story of the divine sovereignty, the intentional disregard of religious influences in history, and the unwarranted prejudice concerning historical and cultural relations with China demanded wholesale revision. Japanese civilization had its inception two millenniums later than the Chinese and can only be properly viewed as the youngest offspring of the latter. A true history of Japan, therefore, should begin with China, and in truth, the earliest account of Japan in Chinese history preceded the oldest



annals of Japan by more than four centuries. It is not a matter of choice but categorically imperative that students of Japanese history should know what is in Chinese sources. So, as my first attempt at rewriting Japanese history, I decided to make a translation of what Chinese historians called 'biographies of Japanese' in the official dynastic histories. I cherished a hope also that the intended translation might stir a new interest among American students in Far Eastern History.

Among the books I brought with me was the epoch-making compilation by a Tokugawa scholar by the name of Matsushita Kenrin 松下見林 (1637-1703), entitled Ishō Nihon den 異編日本傳 [Accounts of Japan in Foreign Version].<sup>1</sup> Enormous in size, the work covers nearly 1,000 closely printed pages in three parts: first, comprising all documents from the Shan-hai-ching 山海經 to the completion of the Yüan shih 元史 [History of the Yüan Dynasty]; second, all the Ming writings; and third, Korean sources. The editor's annotations and interpretations are copious and helpful. The size is, however, prohibitive; it also bears the marks of all pioneer works.

Fortunately in 1936, Professor Kyūshirō Nakayama of the Tōkyō University of Literature and Science visited this country, bringing with him copies of his newly compiled texts which he called Shina seishi Nihon den 支那正史日本傳 [Accounts of Japan in Chinese Official Histories] to be given to students of Oriental history. It was a reprint of extracts of official accounts made into a brochure for the purpose of textual criticism in history seminars. Purposely, it retained all textual pitfalls to be pointed out and discussed, and its distinctive merit was its simple brevity.

Fortunately, the Chinese Collection of Columbia University, which was founded many years before the Japanese Collection, had

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<sup>1</sup> Other early references to Japan, fragmentary in nature, are included in the Shan-hai-ching 山海經, Han shu 漢書, Lun heng 論衡, and Wei lüeh 魏略.



five different editions of the dynastic histories, among them one to be specifically mentioned for the authenticity of its texts: the Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih 百衲本二十四史. Another important work, represented in three editions, is the Ku chin t'u-shu-chi ch'êng 古今圖書集成 with its quotations concerning Japan drawn from the dynastic histories. I thought them sufficient under the circumstances for the purpose of textual comparison and revision.

Of sixteen accounts of Japan contained in the Nakayama edition, it was decided that the accounts in the Tsin shu 晉書 [History of the Tsin Dynasty], Liang shu 梁書 [History of the Liang Dynasty], and Nan shih 南史 [History of the Southern Dynasties] were to be left out as they were nothing but a patchwork of former accounts. The account in the Pei shih 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties] was also dropped as it was the exact duplicate of that in the Sui shu 隋書 [History of the Sui Dynasty]. The T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Yüan (1260-1368) periods have two official histories, known as the Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書 [Old History of the T'ang Dynasty] and the Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書 [New History of the T'ang Dynasty], and the Yüan shih 元史 [History of the Yüan Dynasty] and the Hsin Yüan shih 新元史 [New History of the Yüan Dynasty]. There are substantial arguments for and against each, but because of the fuller account in the later compilations of the T'ang and Yüan histories, preference was given to these.<sup>2</sup>

Thus reduced in size and checked with other editions, the text would, I thought, be easy to translate. But in fact it was a slow-going affair, as I had certain other duties to attend to that sometimes took me out of the country. When the draft of the translation was made, however, I was truly ashamed of it.

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<sup>2</sup> There are of course other translations of parts of these accounts of Japan, the most extensive of which is that by André Wedemeyer, Japanische Frühgeschichte: Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Territorial: Verfassung von Altjapan bis zum 5. Jahr N. Chr., Tōkyō, 1930.



An ugly duckling, it was to go to many hands for revision and improvement, coming back every time just a little less ugly. If it were not for Mrs. Ruth Wilson who took it to her heart to make it look decent (and how patiently and painstakingly she worked!) the manuscript would have been hopeless. Even so, I was not quite satisfied. For publication, not only further revision and correction were needed, but there was the tremendous work of annotation and interpretation yet to be done, just for the sake of making the texts understandable. But by this time, my mind had become preoccupied with other things. The conclusion of the war had given a new lease of freedom to Japanese historians and the rewriting of history had already started with speed. I also began to argue within myself that Japanese history should be rewritten, this time, not only as the offshoot of Chinese civilization but also as an integral part of the history of Western domination. When I was given the chance to read Sir George Sansom's new book The Western World and Japan in manuscript, I was convinced that my premonition was not far amiss. A new history of Japan, if it is written, should begin with the history of Europe and America. Frankly, Dr. Goodrich, my mind is still astray, and at the same time, I cannot disguise the fact that my interest in the account of Japan in Chinese official history has undergone a drastic change.

I have been the witness of what you have been doing all along for that ugly duckling. Not only did you obtain funds for the work of revising the manuscript, but you were good enough to take full charge of editing the text and the annotations to be added, often-times going far into Chinese sources to do so. Research students supplying information, charts, and maps, were all under your direction. The work as it stands is yours more than anybody else's, and it is anything but mine. Please accept my sincere thanks for what you have done on behalf of this child deserted by its own parent.

New York City, New York  
February 1, 1950

Ryūsaku Tsunoda



## HISTORY OF THE LATER HAN DYNASTY

(Hou Han Shu 115:16b-19a)<sup>1</sup>

### The Eastern Barbarians: the Wa

The Wa<sup>2</sup> dwell on mountainous islands southeast of Han [Korea] in the middle of the ocean, forming more than one hundred communities. From the time of the overthrow of Chao-hsien [northern Korea] by Emperor Wu (B.C. 140-87),<sup>3</sup> nearly thirty of these communities have held intercourse with the Han [dynasty] court by envoys or scribes. Each community has its king, whose office is hereditary. The King of Great Wa resides in the country of Yamadai.<sup>4</sup> The commandery of Lo-lang is twelve thousand li<sup>5</sup> from that country. The country of Chü-ya-han<sup>6</sup> on the northwest boundary is ~~over seven thousand~~ li distant. The land is located to the east of Tung-yeh of K'uai-chi<sup>7</sup> and is close to Chu-yai and Tan-erh; so its laws and customs are similar.

The soil is good for grains, hemp, and silk mulberry. The people know weaving and make rough cloth; produce white pearls and green jade.<sup>8</sup> There is cinnabar in the mountains. The climate is warm and mild; both in winter and summer, vegetables can be grown. There are no oxen, horses,<sup>9</sup> tigers, leopards, sheep, or magpies. Weapons are spears, shields, swords, and wooden bows. The arrows are sometimes tipped with bone. The men all tattoo their faces and adorn their bodies with designs. The position and size of pattern indicate the difference of rank. The men's clothing is fastened breadth-wise and consists of one piece of cloth. The women tie their hair in bows, and their clothing, like our gown of one single piece of cloth, is put on by slipping it over the head. They use pink and scarlet to smear their bodies, as rice powder is used in China.

They have stockade forts and thatched houses. Father and mother, elder and younger brothers, live separately, but



at meetings there is no discrimination of sex. They take their food with their hands, but have bamboo and wooden trays on which to put it. It is their custom to go barefooted. Respect is shown by squatting. They are fond of liquor. The people being longlived, quite a few reach an age of more than a hundred years. The women outnumber the men, and the men of importance have four or five spouses; the rest have two or three. The women are faithful and not jealous. There is no theft, and litigation is infrequent. When men break a law, their wives and children are confiscated; when the offense is serious, the offender's family is extirpated. At death mourning lasts for more than ten days, during which time members of the family weep and lament, without much drinking and eating; while their friends sing and dance. By baking bones, they practice divination, in order to ascertain their good or bad fortune. When they go on voyages, they appoint a man who is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, nor to approach women. He is called the fortune-keeper. If the trip proves propitious, they make him a valuable present; but if illness or misfortune overtake them, they deem that the fortune-keeper was not scrupulous and unite in putting him to death.

In the second year of the Chien-wu Chung-yüan era (A.D. 57),<sup>10</sup> the Wa country Nu<sup>11</sup> sent an envoy with tribute who called himself ta-fu. This country is located in the southern extremity of the Wa country. Kuang-wu bestowed on him a seal.<sup>12</sup>

In the first year of the Yung-ch'u era (A.D. 107), during the reign of An-ti (107-125),<sup>13</sup> the King of Wa presented one hundred sixty slaves, making at the same time a request for an imperial audience. During the reigns of Huan-ti (147-168) and Ling-ti (168-189),<sup>14</sup> the country of Wa was in a state of great confusion, war and conflict raging on all sides. For a number of years, there was no ruler. Then a woman named Pimiko<sup>15</sup> appeared. Remaining unmarried, she occupied herself with magic and sorcery and bewitched the populace. Thereupon they placed



her on the throne. She kept one thousand female attendants, but few people saw her. There was only one man who was in charge of her wardrobe and meals and acted as the medium of communication. She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockade, with the protection of armed guards. The laws and customs were strict and stern.

Leaving the queen's land and crossing the sea to the east, after a voyage of one thousand li, the country of Kunu<sup>16</sup> is reached, the people of which are of the same race as that of the Wa. They are not the queen's subjects, however.

Four thousand li away to the south of the queen's land, the dwarfs' country is reached; its inhabitants are three to four feet in height.<sup>17</sup> After a year's voyage by ship to the southeast of the dwarfs' country, one comes to the land of naked men and also to the country of black-teethed people; here our communication service ends.

Off the K'uai-chi shore, there live the people of Tung-t'i,<sup>18</sup> forming more than twenty communities. There are also Tan-chou as well as I-chou. Tradition says that the first emperor of Ch'in<sup>19</sup> sent a Taoist, Hsü Fu, at the head of many thousand young boys and girls in quest of the immortals of P'êng-lai,<sup>20</sup> but without success. Being afraid of the death sentence, Hsü Fu did not dare return home, but settled on an island.<sup>21</sup> Generation followed generation, and there are now tens of thousands of families there. They come to K'uai-chi for marketing at times. The people of the eastern sea coats of K'uai-chi met a storm at sea and were taken to Tan-chou. It is far-away and remote, and regular communication is hardly feasible.

#### NOTES

1. The Hou Han shu, or History of the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) in 120 chüan, is a composite work, the major portion of which was compiled by Fan Ye (398-445) and others. This part in 90 chüan was first printed in the decade 994-1004. The balance was printed in 1022. The Po na pên erh-shih ssü shih edition is largely based on that of 1131-1162.



2. Wa 倭, term applied to the Japanese by the Chinese until T'ang times, first appearing in Chinese works in the Han shu (compiled by Pan Ku, d. A.D. 92, and others). Its derivation is variously given, e.g., as: wa, meaning "dwarf," a term contemptuously applied to the Japanese by the Chinese; or wa, from the Japanese expression wa-ga-kuni 我國, meaning "our country"; or i, the reading given in the Shuo wên chieh tzü, the earliest Chinese etymological dictionary (compiled circa A.D. 100), derived from Ito 怡土, a place-name in northern Kyūshū; or i from inu 倭奴, a shortened form of Ainu, the first inhabitants of the Japanese islands. For these and other theories regarding Wa, on which there is an extensive literature, see bibliography in Iwai Hirosato, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon. (Iwanami kōza Nihon reki-shi) (Tōkyō, 1935), pp. 74-78, and references given in Nakayama Kyūshirō, "Shina shiseki-jō no Nihon-shi," Dai Nihon-shi kōza (Tōkyō, 1928-1930), vol. 17, chapters 5-9. See also Fujita Motoharu, "Yomoyomokō," Shirin (Kyōto), vol. 21, no. 3 (1936), pp. 471-506. (Cf. review by E.O. Reischauer in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (Cambridge, Mass.), vol. 2, no. 1 (March 1937), pp. 52-54.) The problem is so large as to demand more space than is justified in this note.
3. Chao-hsien was reduced in B.C. 108. Four commanderies were erected, of which the chief was Lo-lang, near modern Pyōngyang, in northern Korea.
4. Yamadai, its location, still a highly controversial subject among Japanese scholars, is given either as Yamato 大和 in central Honshū, the traditional seat of the Japanese nation, or one of several places in Kyūshū: Yamato-no-kōri in Chikugo; Yamato, Kikuchi-no-kōri, in Higo; or the Kumaso country in southern Kyūshū. The latest available studies on the subject point to northern Kyūshū as its probable location. See Iijima Tadao, Nihon jōko-shi-ron (Tōkyō, 1947), pp. 80-82, 114-115; Iwai, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon, p. 28; Hashimoto Masukichi, Tōyō shijō yori mitaru Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū (Tōkyō, 1932), vol. 1, chapter 11. "Yamato-koku-ron." --hereafter abbreviated to ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū.
5. A li 里 under the Han was slightly over a quarter of an English mile. Great distances like this one are, of course, not to be taken literally.
6. Chü-ya-han 狗邪韓 in southeast Korea: in the Wei chih account below, this is written Kou-ya-han 狗邪韓.
7. Tung-yeh of K'uai-chi. Tung-yeh was set up by the Han in what is now Min-hou hsien in Fukien province. K'uai-chi was established by the Later Han in modern Shao-hsing, Chekiang. Chu-yai was founded by the Later Han on the island of Hainan. Tan-erh was likewise set up in Hainan. Cf. Kurakichi Shiratori, "The Liu-Ch'iu words in the Sui-Shu," Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library,



Tōkyō), No. 8 (1936), p. 23.

8. Jade is not indigenous to Japan. (This is probably a reference to agate.) While the text may be mistaken, and the precious stones actually agate, there is a possibility that the travellers' tales reaching China made them jade. Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, chapter 23.
9. Horses were probably known to the Japanese before this time. Bones and teeth of horses have been unearthed in widely scattered neolithic sites in Japan. Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, pp. 347-348.
10. This was the last year of the reign of the first emperor of the Later Han, Liu Hsiu (B.C. 4 - A.D. 57), who came to the throne in A.D. 25. He was canonized as Kuang-wu. Ta-fu is rendered Grandee in the translation of The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku by Homer H. Dubs. 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1938, 1944).
11. The Wa country Nu was the ancient Na-no-agata (Department of Na) mentioned in the early Japanese chronicles, in Naka-no-kōri near Hakata, in Kyūshū. Cf. Naka Michiyo, "Gaikō shaku-shi," Naka Michiyo isho (Tōkyō, 1915), vol. 2, p. 308. But these characters 倭奴 are sometimes rendered as parts of one term, as, e.g.: inu, for Ainu; ona, for Okina, another name for the Ryūkyū islands; or ya-dno, for Yamato. For these theories see, respectively, Wu Kuan-yin, Shih chih t'i (Shanghai, 1930), pp. 87-88; Kondō Yoshiki, Seikan kigen (Tōkyō, 1846), cited in Nakayama, "Shina shiseki-jō Nihon-shi," pp. 48-49; and Inaba Iwakichi, "Gi-shi Wa-jin-den kanken," Shirin, vol. 22, no. 1 (January, 1937), p. 26. See also the following note.
12. In 1784 a gold seal bearing the inscription 漢委奴國王, usually translated "Han [vassal?] King of the Wa country Nu," was discovered near Hakata in the aforementioned Naka-no-kōri, lending support to the theory that Nu was in northern Kyūshū. For details and significance of this discovery, see bibliography in Iwai, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon, pp. 74-78; Fujita Motoharu, "Yomoyomoko," Shirin, vol. 21, no. 3 (July, 1936) [see review by Edwin O. Reischauer, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 2, no. 1 (March, 1937), pp. 52-54.] regards the seal as spurious.
13. An-ti, canonized name of Liu Yu (A.D. 94-125).
14. Huan and Ling, names by which Liu Chih (133-168) and Liu Hung (156-189) were canonized.
15. Pimiko is from an archaic Japanese title, himeko, meaning "princess." But some scholars have attempted to identify Pimiko with Empress Jingō (reigned A.D. 201-269), or with Yamato-hime-no-Mikoto, daughter of Suinin Tennō (reigned A.D. 29-70). Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū,

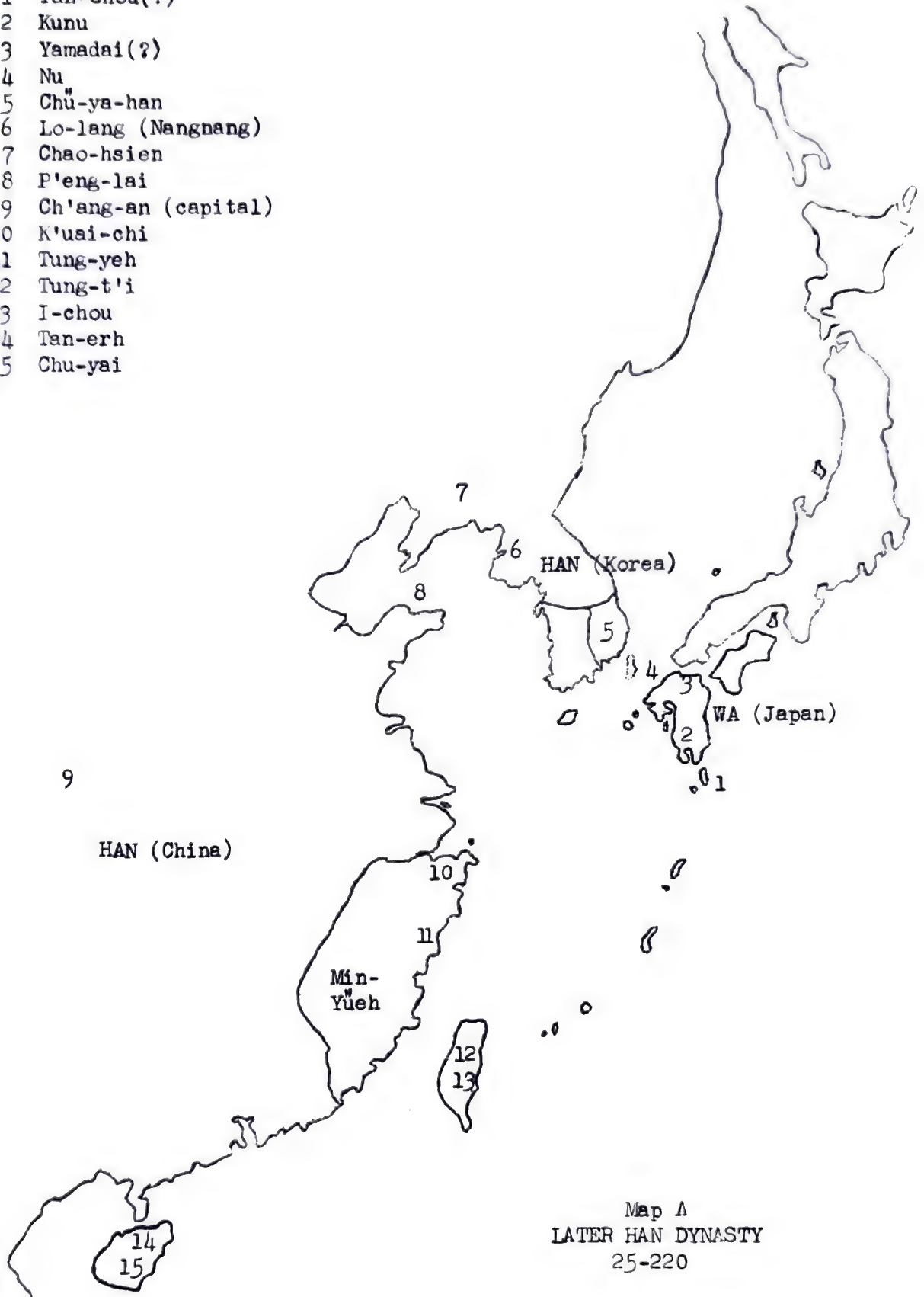


chapter 25, for the most comprehensive and exhaustive discussions of the various views concerning Pimiko by both Japanese and Western scholars.

16. Kunu 狗奴, from Kuma-no-kōri, a place-name in southern Higo, Kyūshū; or from kuma of Kumaso, the name of a tribe which inhabited this region and parts of Ōsumi. Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 80; Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, chapter 7. See also note 25 under Kunu in the Wei chih.
17. This and the following two countries are the only ones in this account not mentioned by their names. Their identity remains obscure. Cf. Nakayama, "Shina shiseki-jō no Nihon-shi," pp. 80-81.
18. Tung-t'i and I-chou, according to Shiratori, "The Liu-ch'iu words in the Sui-Shu," pp. 20-22, were the same and refer to Formosa. Ino had earlier declared (Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, Tōkyō, vol. II (1930), p. 37n.) that Tung-t'i refers to Barbarians of the East, in contrast to Hsi-jung 西戎, Barbarians of the West. Ino equated Tan-chou and the island of Hainan, but Shiratori (op. cit., p. 25) believed that it was one of the Liu-chiu islands, possibly Tane-ga-shima 種子島 (old name To-ni 多禰).
19. Shih Huang-ti (B.C. 259-210). On Hsü Fu and the legend of the search for the immortals, which is supposed to have occurred in B.C. 219, see W. Perceval Yetts, "Taoist tales, part III." New China Review (Shanghai), vol. II, no. 3 (June, 1920), p. 293.
20. P'êng-lai is located off the coast of the Shantung peninsula.
21. On the reputed discovery of Hsü's grave in Japan see T.L. Davis and Rokuro Nakaseko, "The tomb of Jofuko or Joshi," Ambix (London), vol. I, no. 2 (December, 1937), pp. 109-115.



- 1 Tan-chou(?)
- 2 Kunu
- 3 Yamadaï(?)
- 4 Nu
- 5 Chü-ya-han
- 6 Lo-lang (Nangnang)
- 7 Chao-hsien
- 8 P'eng-lai
- 9 Ch'ang-an (capital)
- 10 K'usi-chi
- 11 Tung-yeh
- 12 Tung-t'i
- 13 I-chou
- 14 Tan-erh
- 15 Chu-yai





HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF WEI  
(Wei Chih 30:25b-31a)<sup>1</sup>

The Eastern Barbarians: the Wa People

The people of Wa dwell in the middle of the ocean on the mountainous islands southeast of [the prefecture of] Tai-fang.<sup>2</sup> They formerly comprised more than one hundred communities. During the Han dynasty, [Wa envoys] appeared at the Court;<sup>3</sup> today, thirty of their communities maintain intercourse [with us] through envoys and scribes.

To reach Wa from the prefecture, one sails along the coast, passing the land of Han.<sup>4</sup> Turning then abruptly to the south, and again abruptly to the east, one reaches its northern coast, called the country of Kou-ya-han<sup>5</sup> -- altogether over seven thousand li.

Then going across the sea for the first time, after over one thousand li one reaches the country of Tsushima,<sup>6</sup> where the chief official is called hiku<sup>7</sup> and the next in rank, hinumori.<sup>8</sup> This is a solitary island, over four hundred li square. The land is hilly and well wooded; the trails are like those of wild animals. There are a thousand households or more. The people have no good rice fields but live upon marine products. They go out in ships to purchase grain in the north and in the south.

Setting sail again across the sea known as Han-hai,<sup>9</sup> after a journey of one thousand li or more toward the south one arrives at another large country,<sup>10</sup> where the chief official is likewise called hiku and the second, hinumori. This land is three hundred li square and is full of bushy thickets of bamboo and trees. The households are about three thousand in number. There are some rice fields, but not enough rice is produced for the inhabitants; so they likewise go north to purchase grain.



Going again across the sea for over one thousand li, one reaches the country of Matsuro.<sup>11</sup> It consists of four thousand or more households and is located on the mountainous seacoast. The vegetation here grows so dense that one cannot see a man walking ahead. The people are fond of fishing; regardless of the depth of the water, they dive in to capture fish.

Proceeding five hundred li by land to the southeast, one reaches the country of Izu,<sup>12</sup> the official of which is called niki,<sup>13</sup> his lieutenants being called semmoku and hekkaho.<sup>14</sup> There are over one thousand households, with a hereditary king at the head. These people all owe their allegiance to the Queen's country. When the commissioner of the prefect<sup>15</sup> visits that region, he usually stops there.

A hundred li to the south, one reaches the country of Nu,<sup>16</sup> the official of which is called shimako,<sup>17</sup> his assistant being termed hinumori. Here there are more than twenty thousand households. Proceeding eastward for a hundred li, one reaches the country of Fumi, where the official is known as tamo<sup>18</sup> and his assistant, as hinumori. Here there are over one thousand families.

Going south by water for twenty days, one comes to the country of Toma,<sup>19</sup> where the official is called mimi<sup>20</sup> and his lieutenant, miminari.<sup>21</sup> Here there are about fifty thousand households. Then going toward the south, one arrives at the country of Yamadai,<sup>22</sup> where a Queen holds her court. [This journey] takes ten days by water and one month by land. Among the officials there are the ikima and, next in rank, the mi-masho; then the mimagushi, then the nakato.<sup>23</sup> There are probably more than seventy thousand households.

For the Queen's land and the countries to the north of it, numbers of households and distances can be stated roughly; but the rest of the countries beyond are too remote to describe in detail.



The first country beyond is Shima;<sup>24</sup> then comes Ipokki, then Iza, then Tsuki, then Minu, then Kasoto, then Fuku, then Shanu, then Tsusu, then Sonu, then Koyi, then Kenusonu, then Ki, then Iigo, then Kinu, then Yama, then Kushi, then Hari, then Kiwi, then Wunu, then Nu, where the Queen's dominion comes to an end.

To the south [of the Queen's country] is the country of Kunu,<sup>25</sup> where a King rules. Its official is called kukochi-hiko.<sup>26</sup> This country is not subject to the Queen. From the prefecture to the Queen's country, the distance is over twelve thousand li.

Men, great and small, all tattoo their faces and decorate their bodies with designs.

From olden times envoys who visited the Chinese Court called themselves "grandeers."

A son of the ruler Shao-k'ang<sup>27</sup> of Hsia, when he was enfeoffed as lord of K'uai-chi, cut his hair and decorated his body with designs in order to avoid the attack of serpents and dragons. The Wa, who are fond of diving into the water to get fish and shells, also decorated their bodies in order to keep away large fish and waterfowl. Later, however, the designs became merely ornamental. Designs on the body differ in the various countries -- their position and size vary according to the rank of the individual.

Calculation of the distances seems to indicate that the country [of the Queen] is located east of Tung-chih<sup>28</sup> in K'uai-chi.

The social customs [of the Wa] are not lewd. The men wear a band of cloth around their heads, exposing the top. Their clothing is fastened around the body with little sewing. The women wear their hair in loops. Their clothing is like an unlined coverlet and is worn by slipping the head through an



opening in the center. [The people] cultivate grains, rice, hemp, and mulberry trees for sericulture. They spin and weave and produce fine linen and silk fabrics. There are no oxen, horses, tigers, leopards, sheep, or magpies. Their weapons are spears, shields, and wooden bows made with short lower part and long upper part; and their bamboo arrows are sometimes tipped with iron or bone. Thus in what they have and what they lack, they are similar to the people of Tan-erh and Chu-yai.

The land of Wa is warm and mild [in climate]. In winter as in summer the people live on vegetables and go about bare-footed. Their houses have rooms; father and mother, elder and younger, sleep separately. They smear their bodies with pink and scarlet, just as the Chinese use powder. They serve meat on bamboo and wooden trays, helping themselves with their fingers. When a person dies, they prepare a single coffin, without an outer one. They cover the graves with sand to make a mound. When death occurs, mourning is observed for more than ten days, during which period they do not eat meat. The head mourners wail and lament, while friends sing, dance, and drink liquor. When the funeral is over, all members of the whole family go into the water to cleanse themselves in a bath of purification.

When they go on voyages across the sea to visit China, they always select a man who does not arrange his hair, does not rid himself of fleas, lets his clothing [get as] dirty as it will, does not eat meat, and does not approach women. This man behaves like a mourner and is known as the fortune-keeper. When the voyage turns out propitious, they all lavish on him slaves and other valuables. In case there is disease or mishap, they kill him, saying that he was not scrupulous in his duties.

The land produces pearls and green jade. There is cinabar in the mountains. The trees are mountain camphor, horse-



chestnut, camphor tree, hollyhock, quercus serrata, cryptomeria, quercus dentata, mulberry, and maple; of the bamboo family there are shino, arrow bamboo, and rattan bamboo. There are also ginger, citrus, pepper, prickly ash, and zingiber micga, the excellent flavor of which the people are not aware.

[In that land] are monkeys and black pheasants.

Whenever they undertake an enterprise and discussion arises, they bake bones and divine in order to tell whether fortune will be good or bad. First they announce the object of divination, using the same manner of speech as in tortoise shell divination; then they examine the cracks made by the fire and tell what is to come to pass.

In their meetings and in their deportment, there is no distinction between father and son or between men and women. They are fond of liquor. In their worship, men of importance simply clap their hands instead of kneeling or bowing. The people live long, some to one hundred and others to eighty or ninety years. Ordinarily, men of importance have four or five wives; the lesser ones, two or three. Women are not loose in morals or jealous. There is no theft, and litigation is infrequent. In case of violation of law, the light offender loses his wife and children by confiscation; as for the grave offender, the members of his household and also his kinsmen are exterminated. There are class distinctions among the people, and some men are vassals of others. Taxes are collected. There are granaries as well as markets in each province, where necessities are exchanged under the supervision of the Wa officials.

To the north of the Queen's land, there is a high official stationed especially to exercise surveillance over those provinces, so that they are kept in a state of awe and fear. This official keeps his official residence in the country of Izu. In that country there is [also] an official similar to a Chinese governor. When the ruler sends envoys to visit the



Chinese capital, or when the Tai-fang prefecture or the various Han [Korea] countries or prefects send envoys to the Wa country, they are all made to stop at the port for inspection, so that messages and gifts to the Queen may reach her without mishap.

When the lowly meet men of importance on the road, they stop and withdraw to the roadside. In conveying messages to them or addressing them, they either squat or kneel, with both hands on the ground. This is the way they show respect. When responding, they say "ah," which corresponds to the affirmative "yes."

The country formerly had a man as ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Fimiko. She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country. After she became the ruler, there were few who saw her. She had one thousand women as attendants, but only one man. He served her food and drink and acted as a medium of communication. She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockades, with armed guards in a state of constant vigilance.

Over one thousand li to the east of the Queen's land, there are more countries of the same race as the people of Wa.<sup>29</sup>

To the south, also, there is the island of the dwarfs, where the people are three or four feet tall. This is over four thousand li distant from the Queen's land. Then there is the land of naked men, as well as that of the black-toothed people. [These places] can be reached by boat if one travels southeast for a year.

To make a tour of all the parts of Wa, located as it is in the far-distant ocean -- the islands sometimes scattered, sometimes grouped -- would be a circuitous journey of about



five thousand 11.

In the sixth month of the second year of Ching-ch'u (A.D. 238), the Queen of Wa sent the grandee Nashonmi<sup>30</sup> and others to visit the prefecture [of Tai-fang], where they requested permission to proceed to the Emperor's Court with tribute. The Governor, Liu Hsia, dispatched an officer to accompany the party to the capital. In answer to the Queen of Wa, an edict of the Emperor, issued in the twelfth month of the same year, said as follows: "Herein we address Pimiko, Queen of Wa, whom we now officially call a friend of Wei. The Governor of Tai-fang, Liu Hsia, has sent a messenger to accompany your vassal, Nashonmi, and his lieutenant, Tsushi Gori.<sup>31</sup> They have arrived here with your tribute, consisting of four male slaves and six female slaves, together with ~~two~~ pieces of cloth with designs, each twenty feet in length. You live very far away across the sea; yet you have sent an embassy with tribute. Your loyalty and filial piety we appreciate exceedingly. We confer upon you, therefore, the title 'Queen of Wa Friendly to Wei', together with the decoration of the gold seal with purple ribbon. The latter, properly encased, is to be sent to you through the Governor. We expect you, O Queen, to rule your people in peace and to endeavor to be devoted and obedient.

"Your ambassadors, Nashonmi and Gori, who have come from afar, must have had a long and fatiguing journey. We have, therefore, given to Nashonmi an appointment as Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Guard, and to Gori an appointment as Commandant in the Imperial Guard. We also bestow upon them the decoration of the silver seal with blue ribbon. We have granted them audience in appreciation of their visit, before sending them home with gifts. The gifts are these: five pieces of crimson brocade with dragon designs; ten pieces of crimson tapestry with dappled pattern; fifty lengths of bluish-red fabric; and fifty lengths of dark blue fabric. These are in return for what you sent as tribute. As a special gift, we



bestow upon you three pieces of blue brocade with interwoven characters, five pieces of tapestry with delicate floral designs, fifty lengths of white silk, eight taels<sup>32</sup> of gold, two swords five feet long,<sup>33</sup> one hundred bronze mirrors, and fifty catties<sup>34</sup> each of jade and of red beads. All these things are sealed in boxes and entrusted to Nashonmi and Gori. When they arrive and you acknowledge their receipt, you may exhibit them to your countrymen in order to demonstrate that our country thinks so much of you as to bestow such exquisite gifts upon you."

In the first year of Chêng-shih (240), the Governor, Kung Tsun, sent T'i Chün, a commandant of the Imperial Guard, with an Imperial rescript and the ribbon seal to visit the Wa country. He had an audience with the Queen and took with him, together with the rescript, gifts of gold brocade, tapestry, swords, mirrors, and other things. Thereupon the Wa monarch sent an envoy with a memorial expressing appreciation of the rescript and the gifts.

In the fourth year (243), the Wa ruler sent another embassy -- eight men under the grandee Isegi Yazaku<sup>35</sup> -- and bestowed presents of slaves, Japanese brocade, red and blue silk, a fabric robe, cloth, cinnabar, and a wooden bow with short arrows. [The Emperor] granted to Yazaku the commission of Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Guard and also the ribbon seal.

In the sixth year (245), by Imperial decree, Nashonmi of Wa was granted a yellow pennant, to be awarded through the office of the prefect.

In the eighth year (247), the Governor, Wang Ch'i, arrived [at Tai-fang] to assume office. The Queen of Wa, Pimiko, had been at odds with the King of Kunu, Pimikukku,<sup>36</sup> and had sent Saishi Uwo<sup>37</sup> of Wa to visit the prefect and report in person regarding the conflict going on. Chang Chêng, Acting Secretary of the Border Guard, was dispatched with the rescript and the



yellow pennant which confirmed the appointment of Nashonmi. He issued a proclamation advising reconciliation.

When Pimiko passed away, a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter. Over a hundred male and female attendants followed her to the grave. Then a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. Assassination and murder followed; more than one thousand were thus slain.

A relative of Pimiko named Iyo,<sup>38</sup> a girl of thirteen, was [then] made queen and order was restored. Chêng issued a proclamation to the effect that Iyo was the ruler. Then Iyo sent a delegation of twenty under the grandee Yazaku,<sup>39</sup> General of the Imperial Guard, to accompany Chêng home [to China]. The delegation visited the capital and presented thirty male and female slaves. It also offered [to the Court] five thousand white gems and two pieces of carved jade, as well as twenty pieces of brocade with variegated designs.

#### NOTES

1. The Wei chih, or Record of Wei (A.D. 221-265) in 30 chüan, forms part of the San Kuo chih (History of the Three Kingdoms) compiled by Ch'ên Shou (233-297). It was first printed in the years 1000-1002. The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is largely based on that of 1190-1194.
2. Tai-fang prefecture was created towards the end of the Later Han near modern Seoul. Cf. Hiroshi Ikeuchi, "A Study on Lo-lang and Tai-fang, ancient Chinese prefectures in Korean peninsula," Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōkyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tōkyō), No. 5 (1930), pp. 79-95.
3. For the location of Chinese capitals during this and other dynastic periods, see Samuel Couling, The Encyclopaedia Sinica (Shanghai, 1917), page 83, subject "Capitals"; for Japanese capitals, see Basil Hall Chamberlain, Things Japanese (various editions), subject "Capital Cities."
4. Here Han 韓 refers to the Koreans.
5. Kou-ya-han 狗邪韓, in Korea.
6. Tsushima, in the straits between Korea and Japan, an important stopping place in early Korean-Japanese relations, as



indicated in one of its early written forms 津島, meaning "port island" or "island for anchorage." Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 303.

7. Hiku, from hiko, an honorary affix to names of males in ancient times.
8. Hinumori, from the Japanese hinamori: hina, meaning "out-lying," and mori, meaning "to guard over." Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 303.
9. Han-hai, the sea between Korea and Japan.
10. The island of Iki southeast of Tsushima. Naka suggests that the character 大 (large) in the phrase 一大國 (a large country) is a copyist's error for 支, thus giving 一支國 (the country of Iki). This written form of Iki may be seen in the Liang-shu. Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 304.
11. Matsuro, Matsuro-no-kōri in Chikuzen, northwestern Kyūshū, probably in the area near the present seaport of Karatsu. Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 306.
12. Izu, Ito-no-kōri in Chikuzen near the modern Hakata. Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 306.
13. Niki, or nishi, from inagi, "an Imperial granary in the provinces"; hence, its custodian, or nishi, from nushi, "chief" or "lord." Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, p. 135; and Yamada Yōshio, "Kunu-koku-kō, IV," Kōko-gaku zasshi (Tōkyō), vol. 12, no. 11 (July, 1922), p. 50.
14. Both of these terms probably derived from personal names: semmoku, also read eimoku or shimoko, from Imoko 妹子; hekkuko, from hikoko 彦子. Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, p. 135.
15. Prefect of Tai-fang.
16. Nu 奴, Naka-no-kōri near Hakata. See also note 11 in the Hou Han Shu above.
17. Shimako, from Shimako 島子, a name. Cf. Yamada, "Kunu-koku-kō, IV," p. 50.
18. Tamo, abbreviation for tomo-no-miyakko, an hereditary title of a group of court chieftains; or from the honorary term tama, frequent in names. Cf. Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, p. 135.
19. Toma. Three widely separated regions have been suggested: Izumo on the Japan Sea; Tama-no-oya in Suō on the northwest shores of the Inland Sea; and Kyūshū. For Kyūshū opinions range from Mitsuma-no-kōri in Chikuzen in the north to Satsuma in the south. Thus, for places subsequently mentioned in the text there is a wide disagreement on their identity between the Honshū and Kyūshū theorists. For the Honshū theory, see articles by Naitō and Yamada, among



- others, and for the Kyūshū theory, see books or articles by Shiratori, Hashimoto, Iwai and Iijima, cited in Iwai, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon, pp. 77-78.
20. Mimi, from 御身, a polite form of "you," or from Mimitsu, a place-name in Koyu-no-kōri, Kyūshū. Cf. Naka, "Gaikō shaku-shi," p. 307; Yamada, "Kunu-koku-kō, IV," p. 50.
  21. Miminari, derivation obscure. But Naitō notes its similarity to mimitari and hanatari, names of brigands in the Suō district who are mentioned in the Nihongi during Keiko Tennō's reign (traditionally, A.D. 71-130). Cf. Naitō Torajirō, Dokushi sōroku (Tōkyō, 1929), pp. 37-39.
  22. See note 4 on Yamadai in the Hou Han Shu above.
  23. Ikima, mimasho, mimagushi, nakato. The Yamato theorists trace these terms to names of persons or gods associated with the Yamato court. Ikima, for example, is identified with Ikuma-no-mikoto, mentioned in the early chronicles, or possibly with a title of the Urabe Family, one of whose tutelary gods was Ikoma-ni-masu-Ikomatsu-hiko. Similarly, mimasho is likened to Kōshō Tennō (traditionally, reigned B.C. 476-393), whose name was Mimatsu-hiko-Kayeshine; and mimagushi, to Sujin Tennō (traditionally, reigned B.C. 98 - A.D. 30), whose name was Mimaki-iri-biko-niye. Nakato is believed to be a direct transliteration of the name of the well-known Nakatomi family. Hashimoto, among others, refutes these claims. Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, pp. 38-42; and Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū, p. 138.
  24. Shima, etc. Some indication of the diversity of views regarding the identity of the twenty-two countries listed here may be had from the following suggestions given for Shima and Nu, the first and last countries in the list. Shima: Shima-no-kuni in central Honshū; Shima-no-kōri in Chikuzen, northern Kyūshū; Sakura-jima in Ōsumi, southern Kyūshū. Nu: Na in Iwaki-no-kuni, northeastern Honshū; Kono in Kasahaya-no-kōri, Iyo-no-kuni, in western Shikoku; and Na-no-agata, Chikuzen, northern Kyūshū. For these widely divergent viewpoints, cf. Yamada, "Kunu-koku-kō, III"; and Hashimoto Masukichi, "Yamadai-koku oyobi Pimiko ni tsuite," Shigaku zasshi (Tōkyō), vol. 21, no. 10 (October, 1910).
  25. Kunu. Yamada identifies Kunu with Keno, the old name of Kōzuke and Shimotsuke, in eastern Honshū. But Shiratori maintains that Kunu is a reference to Kumaso, a term which is derived from two archaic place-names: Kuna, the old name for southern Kyūshū, and Aso, the name of the area north-east of Kuna. Kumaso is also the name of the tribe which inhabited this region and which offered much resistance to the Yamato court. Cf. Yamada, "Kunu-koku-kō, IV"; Shiratori Kurakichi, "Wa-joō Pimiko mondai wa ika ni kaiketsu suru beki ka," Shigaku zasshi (Tōkyō), vol. 38, no. 10 (October, 1927), pp. 100-102; Hashimoto, ...Nihon jōko-shi kenkyū,



## chapter 7.

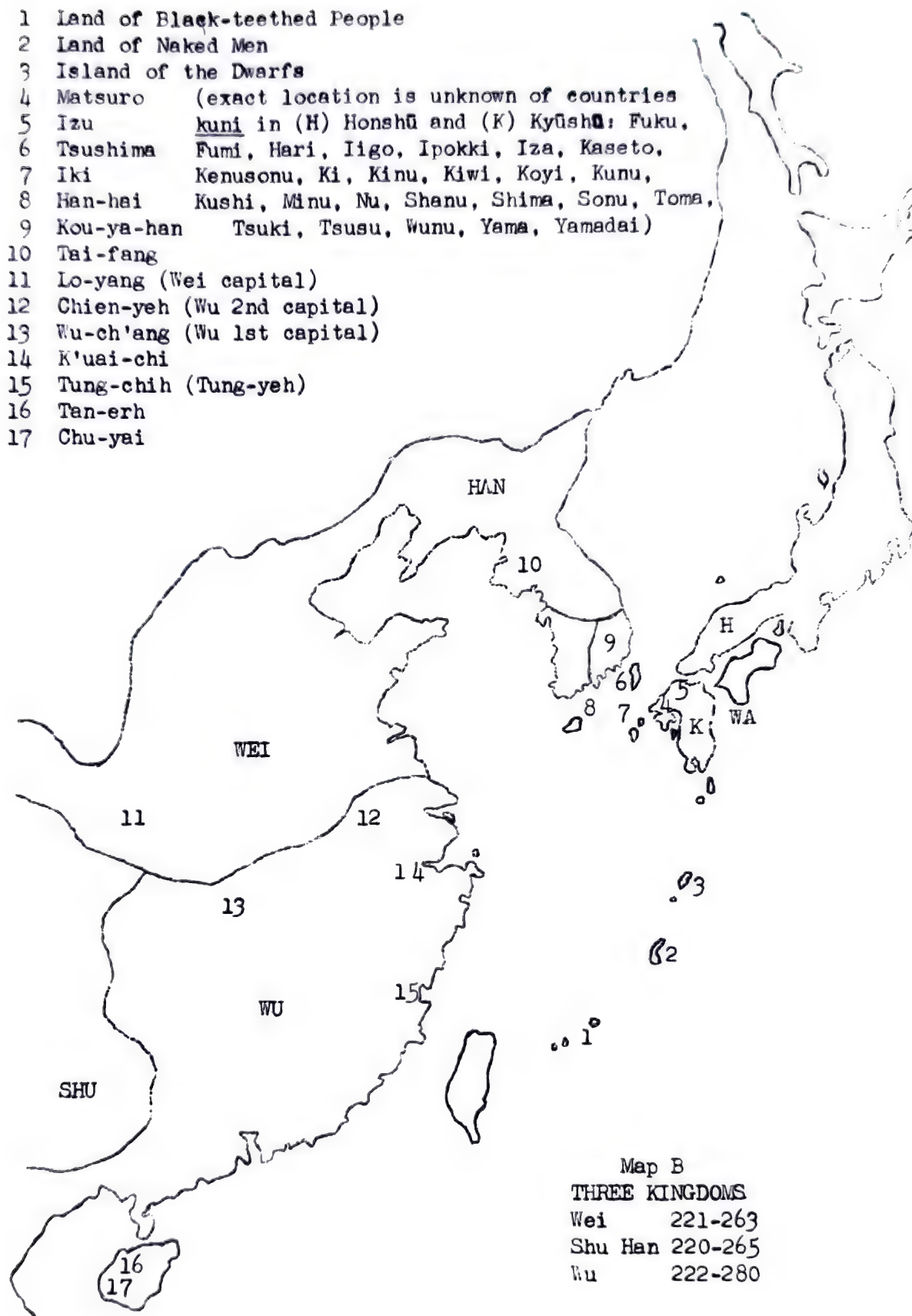
26. Kukochihiko, derived from Kikuchi, a place-name in Kyūshū. Its archaic reading was Kukuchi. Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, pp. 80-81.
27. Shao-k'ang is traditionally supposed to have reigned B.C. 2079-2058, during the shadowy dynasty of Hsia. Cf. Friedrich Hirth, The Ancient History of China to the End of the Chou Dynasty (New York, 1911), p. 42, and Edouard Chavannes (translator), Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien. Tome I (Paris, 1895), pp. 166 and 167, note 1.
28. Tung-chih 東治, mistake for Tung-yeh 東冶. Cf. translation of the Hou Han Shu, page 1, line 11.
29. The Kyūshū theorists maintain that this is the only reference to Honshū in this account. Cf. Iwai, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon, p. 29.
30. Nashonmi, identity unknown. Naitō, however, compares him with Tajima Mori, who, in the Nihongi appears as a special emissary of Suinin Tennō to the "Eternal Land." Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, pp. 44-45; see also W.G. Aston (translator), Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 607. (Supplement I of Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London, 1896. London, 1924, one volume edition), vol. I, p. 186.
31. Tsushi Gori, identity unknown. But the name may be derived from Izushi gokoro ō-mi-no-mikoto, name of a deity. Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, pp. 46-47.
32. 8 liang or tael approximate 4.3 oz. avoirdupois, or 122 grams.
33. The Chinese foot (ch'ih) at this time measured .24185 m.; so the length of these swords would equal 1.20925 m. Cf. Ma Hêng, The fifteen different classes of measures, as given in the Lü Li Chih of the Sui dynasty history. Translated by J. C. Ferguson. (Peiping, 1932), p. 13.
34. A chin, or catty, then approximated 8.6 oz. avoirdupois. 50 chin would amount to 26 lb. 14 oz., or 12.2 kilograms.
35. Isegi-Yazaku, probably derived from Isaga, the name of a clan in Izumo that worshipped Isaga-no-mikoto, the son of its ancestral god. Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, pp. 45-46.
36. Pimikukku 卑彌弓呼. Shiratori would reverse the positions of the second and third characters and render the name hiko-mikoto, a male title, as opposed to himeko, a female title. Cited in Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 82. But Naitō asserts that the character 素 immediately following this name in the text should be a part of the name. Koso, he notes, was frequent in names. Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, p. 48.



37. Saishi Uwo. May have its derivation in place-names in Izumo, either Sase or Susa. Cf. Naitō, Dokushi sōroku, p. 47.
38. Iyo 壹與. Most scholars believe that Toyo was intended, and that it is derived from Toyo-no-kuni, a place-name in Kyūshū. Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 82.
39. Yazaku 掖邪拘. This name may be rendered Izaku or Yazaku, and may refer to the same person as mentioned above. Cf. note 34.



- 1 Land of Black-teethed People
- 2 Land of Naked Men
- 3 Island of the Dwarfs
- 4 Matsuro (exact location is unknown of countries)
- 5 Izu kuni in (H) Honshū and (K) Kyūshū: Fuku.
- 6 Tsushima Fumi, Hari, Iigo, Ipokki, Iza, Kaseto.
- 7 Iki Kenusonu, Ki, Kinu, Kiwi, Koyi, Kunu,
- 8 Han-hai Kushi, Minu, Nu, Shanu, Shima, Sonu, Toma.
- 9 Kou-ya-han Tsuki, Tsusu, Wunu, Yama, Yamadai)
- 10 Tai-fang
- 11 Lo-yang (Wei capital)
- 12 Chien-yeh (Wu 2nd capital)
- 13 Wu-ch'ang (Wu 1st capital)
- 14 K'uai-chi
- 15 Tung-chih (Tung-yeh)
- 16 Tan-erh
- 17 Chu-yai



Map B  
 THREE KINGDOMS  
 Wei 221-263  
 Shu Han 220-265  
 Wu 222-280



## HISTORY OF THE LIAO SONG DYNASTY

(Sung Shu 97:23b-25a)<sup>1</sup>

### The Eastern and Southern Barbarians: Wa-kuo

The country of Wa is in the midst of the great ocean, southeast of Koguryō.<sup>2</sup> From generation to generation, [the Wa people] carry out their duty of bringing tribute.

In the second year of Yung-ch'ü (421), the first Emperor said in a rescript: "Ts'an<sup>3</sup> of Wa sends tribute from a distance of tens of thousands of li. The fact that he is loyal, though so far away, deserves appreciation. Let him, therefore, be granted rank and title."

In the second year of Yüan-chia (425), during the reign of T'ai-tsu,<sup>4</sup> Ts'an sent Ssü-ma Ts'ao-ta<sup>5</sup> to the Court with a memorial and offered native products. When Ts'an died and his brother, Chên,<sup>6</sup> came to the throne, the latter sent an envoy to the Court with tribute. Signing himself as King of Wa and Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace<sup>7</sup> in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Chin-han, and Mok-han,<sup>8</sup> he presented a memorial requesting that his titles be formally confirmed. An imperial edict confirmed his title of King of Wa<sup>9</sup> and General Who Maintains Peace in the East.

Chên also requested that upon Wa, Sui, and others, altogether thirteen men, there be conferred the title of Commandant Who Subjugates Barbarians in the West and General Who Serves His Country. An edict was issued granting this request.

In the twentieth year (443), Sai,<sup>10</sup> King of Wa, sent an envoy with tribute and was again confirmed as King of Wa and General Who Maintains Peace. In the twenty-eighth year (451), the additional title was granted of General Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in



the Six Countries of Wa, Silla, Imna, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han. Twenty-three men recommended were also confirmed in their titles, civil and military.

Sai died and the crown prince, Kō,<sup>11</sup> sent an envoy with tribute. In the sixth year of Ta-ming (462),<sup>12</sup> the Emperor said in an edict: "Kō, heir to the throne of Wa, continues the loyalty of his forebears in his outlying domains beyond the sea, keeps peace in accordance with the example set by us, and respectfully observes the duty of sending tribute. Now that he is succeeding to the throne, we confer upon him the title of King of Wa and General Who Maintains Peace in the East."

[Then] Kō died and his brother, Bu,<sup>13</sup> came to the throne. [Bu], signing himself King of Wa, Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding With Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Seven Countries of Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Kala,<sup>14</sup> Chin-han, and Mok-han, in the second year of Shêng-ming, Shun-ti's reign (478),<sup>15</sup> sent an envoy bearing a memorial which read as follows: "Our land is remote and distant; its domains lie far out in the ocean. From time of old our forebears have clad themselves in armor and helmet and gone across the hills and waters, sparing no time for rest. In the east, they conquered fifty-five countries of hairy men; and in the west, they brought to their knees sixty-six countries of various barbarians. Crossing the sea to the north, they subjugated ninety-five countries. The way of government is to keep harmony and peace; thus order is established in the land. Generation after generation, without fail, our forebears have paid homage to the Court. Your subject, ignorant though he is, is succeeding to the throne of his predecessors and is fervently devoted to your Sovereign Majesty. Everything he commands is at your Imperial disposal. [In order to go] by way of Paekche, far distant though it is, we made preparation of ships and boats. Koguryō, however, in defiance of law, schemed to capture them. Borders were raided, and murder was committed repeatedly. [Therefore]



we were delayed every time and missed favorable winds. We attempted to push on, but when the way was clear, [Koguryō] was rebellious. My deceased father became indignant at the marauding foe who closed our way to the Sovereign Court. Urged on by a sense of justice, he gathered together a million archers and was about to launch a great campaign. [But] because of the death of my father and brother, the plan that had been matured could not be carried out at the last moment. Mourning required the laying down of arms. Inaction does not bring victory. Now, however, we again set our armor in array and carry out the desire of our elders. The fighting men are in high mettle; civil and military officials are ready; none have fear of sword or fire.

"Your Sovereign virtue extends over heaven and earth. If through it we can crush this foe and put an end to our troubles, we shall ever continue our loyalty [to the throne]. I therefore beg you to appoint me as supreme commander of the campaign, with the status of minister, and to grant to others [among my followers] ranks and titles, so that loyalty may be encouraged."

By imperial edict, Bu was made King of Wa and Generalissimo Who Maintains Peace in the East Commanding with Battle-Ax All Military Affairs in the Six Countries of Wa, Silla, Imna, Kala, Chin-han, and Mok-han.

#### NOTES

1. The Sung shu, or History of the [Liu] Sung (420-479) in 100 chüan, was compiled by Shen Yueh (441-513). The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is mainly based on the Sung (960-1279) edition printed in large type in Szechuan.
2. Koguryō 高句麗. At this time an important state occupying the northern half of the Korean peninsula.
3. Ts'an 讚, from saza of Ō-sazaki tennō, name of Nintoku Tennō (reigned 313-319). Cf. Naka, "Saikō shaku-shi," vol. 4, pp. 548-550. But Iijima alleges that Ts'an is from za of Iza-ho-wake, name of Richū Tennō (reigned 400-405). Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86. According to Bernhard Karlgren's reconstruction of the court, (i.e. Ch'ang-an) pronunciation



of certain Chinese words in the late 6th century A.D. (see his Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese, Paris, 1923), Ts'an should be rendered Tsân; Ssü-ma Ts'ao-ta > Si-'ma ,Dz'âu-d'ât; and Chên > T'iên. The pronunciation over a century earlier at the Sung court at Nanking may have differed somewhat. As this pronunciation is unknown we have adopted the modern Kuo-yü pronunciation in the text.

4. Yüan-chia 2 was 245. T'ai-tsu Wên-ti is the name by which Liu I-lung (407-453) was canonized. The third emperor of the Liu Sung dynasty, he reigned from September 17, 424, until he was slain by his son.
5. Ssü-ma Ts'ao-ta 司馬曹達, probably a reference to Shiba Tatto 司馬達等, who is remembered for his role in the introduction and promotion of Buddhism in Japan. His daughter, Shinzen, was the first Buddhist nun in Japan. Cf. Fuzambō kokushi jiten hensan-bu (compiler), Kokushi jiten (Tōkyō, 1940-1943), vol. 4, pp. 768-769.
6. Chên 珍, synonymous with 瑞, the first character in Mizuhawake 瑞齒別, name of Hansei Tennō (reigned 406-411). Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86.
7. The title ch'ih-chieh 持節 was given at this time to high military officials who had the power of life and death. Cf. Tz'ü-hai 辭海 (Shanghai, 1935), p. 114, and Robert des Rotours (translator), Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée. Traduits de la Nouvelle Histoire des Tang (chap. XLVI-L). 2 vols. (Leyde, 1947-1948), vol. 2, p. 669.
8. The five countries listed after Wa are all parts of Korea. Chin-han 秦韓 is sometimes written 辰 Chên-han, and Mok 慕 -han written 馬 -han.
9. This interest of the Japanese in recognition by China of the position of the Japanese ruler suggests the need for new interpretations of Japan's early concepts of a centralized state and of the function of their rulers.
10. Sai 濟, Inkyō Tennō (reigned 412-453), whose name was O-asatsuma-wakugo-no-sukune 雄朝津間稚子宿禰. Sai, which means "to cross a stream," is probably an attempt to approximate the meaning of 津, "a ford, a stream," the third character in the Sovereign's name. Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86.
11. Kō 興, Ankō Tennō (reigned 453-456). Kō, which means "to flourish," is synonymous with 秀. The latter, read ho, is a homonym of 總 in Anaho, the name of Ankō Tennō. Cf. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86.
12. The emperor was now Liu Chün (430-464), who succeeded his father Liu I-lung on May 20, 453.
13. Bu 武, Yūryaku Tennō (reigned 456-479), from the last character in his name, Ō-hatsuse Waka-take 大泊瀨幼武. Cf.



Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86.

14. Kala is situated in the southern part of Korea, northeast of Imna.
15. Shun-ti is the name by which Liu Chun (469-479) was canonized. He became emperor on August 5, 477, and was deposed May 26, 479. Cf. Herbert A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary (London & Shanghai, 1898; China reprint 1939), No. 1294, corrected by Peter Boodberg in Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 4, nos. 3 & 4 (December, 1939), p. 258, note 120. There is no mention in Japanese accounts of an embassy to China in 478. But the Nihongi, under dates of 464 and 468, names two envoys, Awo, Musa no Suguri; and Haka-toko, Hinokuma no tamitsukai, who were sent to Wu; and again, under date of 470, there is a reference to their return to Japan accompanied by Wu envoys. Cited in Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 86.



## HISTORY OF THE SUI DYNASTY

(Sui Shu 81:13a-16b)<sup>1</sup>

### The Eastern Barbarians: Wa-kuo

Wa-kuo is situated in the middle of the great ocean south-east of Paekche and Silla,<sup>2</sup> three thousand li<sup>3</sup> away by water and by land. The people dwell on mountainous islands.

During the Wei dynasty, over thirty countries [of wa-kuo], each of which boasted a king, held intercourse with China.

These barbarians do not know how to measure distance by li and estimate it by days. Their domain is five months' journey from east to west, and three months' from north to south; and the sea lies on all sides. The land is high in the east and low in the west.

The capital is Yamato, known in the Wei history as Yamadai. The old records say that it is altogether twelve thousand li distant from the borders of Lo-lang and Tai-fang prefectures, and is situated east of Kuai-chi and close to Tan-erh.

During the reign of Kuang Wu of the Han, an envoy who called himself a ta-fu came to the Court. During the reign of An-ti, also, an envoy from the country known as Wa-nu-kuo was sent to the Court with tribute. During the reigns of the Emperors Huan and Ling, that country was in great disorder, and there was no ruler for a period of years. [Then] a woman named Pimiko attracted the populace by means of the practice of magic. The country became unified and made her queen. A younger brother assisted Pimi[ko] in the administration of the country.

Queen [Pimiko] kept one thousand maids in attendance. Her person was seldom seen. She had only two men [attendants]. They served her food and drink and acted as intermediaries.

The Queen lived in a palace, which was surrounded by walls and stockades protected by armed guards; their discipline



was extremely strict.

From the time of the Wei through the Ch'i and Liang dynasties,<sup>4</sup> intercourse with China was kept up.

During the twenty years of the K'ai-huang era (581-600), the King of Wa, whose family name was Ame and personal name Tarishihoko, and who bore the title of Ahakomi,<sup>5</sup> sent an envoy to visit the Court.<sup>6</sup> The Emperor ordered the appropriate official to make inquiries about the manners and customs [of the Wa people]. The envoy reported thus: "The King of Wa deems heaven to be his elder brother and the sun, his younger. Before break of dawn he attends the Court, and, sitting cross-legged, listens to appeals. Just as soon as the sun rises, he ceases these duties, saying that he hands them over to his brother."<sup>7</sup> Our just Emperor said that such things were extremely senseless, and he admonished [the King of Wa] to alter [his ways].

[According to the envoy's report], the King's spouse is called Kemi.<sup>8</sup> Several hundred women are kept in the inner chambers of the Court. The heir apparent is known as Rikamita-hori.<sup>9</sup> There is no special palace. There are twelve grades of Court officials, of which ta-tê and hsiao-tê are the first two. Then come ta-jên and hsiao-jên; then ta-i and hsiao-i; then ta-li and hsiao-li; then ta-chih and hsiao-chih; then ta-hsin and hsiao-hsin.<sup>10</sup> There is no regulated number of officials [in each rank]. There are 120 kuni,<sup>11</sup> which are similar to governors<sup>12</sup> in China. For every eighty families, one iniki<sup>13</sup> is set up as village chief. There are ten iniki under one kuni.

As for dress and adornment, the men have outer and inner garments, the sleeves of which are very small. Their foot-gear is shaped like sandals, painted with lacquer, and tied on with strings. Many of the common people usually go barefoot. They are not permitted to use gold or silver ornaments. Their ordinary dress is a wide piece of cloth tied on without sewing. They do not wear head-gear, but let their hair hang down over their ears. During the Sui period, the King for the first time



instituted head-gear [to indicate rank].<sup>14</sup> It was made of brocade and colored silk and decorated with gold and silver inlaid flowers.

The women arrange their hair on the back of the head. They wear outer and under garments and scarves, all with designs. They have combs cut from bamboo. They weave grass into mattresses. For covers they use various skins lined with colored leather.

The men have bows and arrows, swords, spears, catapults, and polished axes. Their armor is of lacquered leather. They cut bones to make arrow-heads. They have a standing army, but there is little warfare. When the King holds Court, it is deemed indispensable to have military display and musicians playing native music.

There are about 100,000 households. It is customary to punish murder, arson, and adultery with death. Thieves are made to make restitution in accordance with the value of the goods stolen. If the thief has no property with which to make payment, he is taken to be a slave. Other offenses are punished according to their nature -- sometimes by banishment and sometimes by flogging. In the prosecution of offenses by the court, the knees of those who plead not guilty are pressed together by placing them between pieces of wood, or their head is sawed with the stretched string of a strong bow. Sometimes pebbles are put in boiling water and both parties to a dispute made to pick them out. The hand of the guilty one [is said to] become inflamed. Sometimes a snake is kept in a jar, and the accused ordered to catch it. If he is guilty, his hand will be bitten. The people are gentle and peaceful. Litigation is infrequent and theft seldom occurs.

As for musical instruments, they have five-stringed lyres and flutes.<sup>15</sup> Both men and women paint marks on their arms and spots on their faces and have their bodies tattooed. They



catch fish by diving into the water. They have no written characters and understand only the use of notched sticks and knotted ropes. They revere Buddha and obtained Buddhist scriptures from Paekche.<sup>16</sup> This was the first time that they came into the possession of characters. They are familiar with divination and have profound faith in shamans, both male and female.

On the first day of the first month, it is customary for them to have archery tournaments, and to play games and drink liquor. Their other festivals are in general identical with those of the Chinese. They like chess, betting, juggling, and dice games.<sup>17</sup>

The climate is warm and mild and plants are green even in winter. The soil is rich and fertile, but is a country with much water and little land. [The people] attach a small ring to the neck of the cormorant and then let it go into the water and catch fish.<sup>18</sup> Their daily catch is more than a hundred fish.

They have no dishes or plates, but use oak leaves instead. They take their food with their hands.

They are honest by nature and refined in manners. The women outnumber the men. In marriage, they avoid choosing blood relations.<sup>19</sup> When a bride enters her husband's house, she does so after stepping over a fire to meet her husband.<sup>20</sup> Women are faithful and not jealous.

The dead are put in coffins; near relatives gather by the side of the corpse to sing and dance. Wife, children, and brothers all wear white for mourning. The body of a nobleman is kept in funeral state for three years. Commoners set a date for internment, and at that time the body is either placed in a boat which is pulled along from the shore, or is placed in a small palanquin.

There is a mountain [there] called Mt. Aso, the rocks of



which, for no reason whatever, blanch forth fire. The people, astonished, offer up prayers and conduct religious rites. There is also a miraculous jewel there, which is green in color and as large as an egg. By night it shines brightly. It is, they say, the eye-ball of a certain fish.

Both Silla and Paekche consider Wa to be a great country, replete with precious things, and they pay her homage. Envoys go back and forth from time to time.

In the third year of Ta-yeh (607), King Tarishihoko sent an envoy to the Court with tribute.<sup>21</sup> The envoy said: "The King has heard that to the west of the ocean a Bodhisattva of the Sovereign reveres and promotes Buddhism. For that reason he has sent an embassy to pay his respects. Accompanying [the embassy] are several tens of monks who have come to study Buddhism." [The envoy brought] an official message which read: "The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets. We hope you are in good health."<sup>22</sup> When the Emperor saw this letter, he was displeased and told the chief official of foreign affairs that this letter from the barbarians was discourteous, and that such a letter should not again be brought to his attention.

The year following (608), the Emperor sent Secretary P'ei Ch'ing<sup>23</sup> as envoy to Wa-kuo. Going by way of Paekche, he reached the island of Chiku;<sup>24</sup> then, after sighting Tara<sup>25</sup> in the south, he passed Tsushima and sailed far out into the great ocean. [Then] going eastward, he came to the island of Iki, and then finally reached Tsukushi.<sup>26</sup> Again going eastward, he reached Suō,<sup>27</sup> where the people were identical with the Chinese of the Middle Kingdom. It seems rather strange to call this land a country of barbarians. [Then] he had to pass through more than ten countries before he reached the seacoast. All the lands to the east of Tsukushi were subject to Wa.



The King of Wa dispatched the hsiao-tê, Awada, at the head of a guard of honor of several hundred men, who marched to the sound of drums and horns, to welcome the envoy.<sup>28</sup> Again, ten days later, he sent the ta-i, Atai, at the head of two hundred horsemen to meet him on the way. Upon the arrival of Ch'ing<sup>29</sup> at the capital, the King granted him audience and, highly pleased, spoke with him as follows: "We have heard that to the west of the sea there is the great civilized country of Sui. Therefore I have sent tribute to the Court. We are an uncivilized people, living as we do at the far end of the waters, with no knowledge of civilization. We have remained shut up within our borders, without appearing at the Court. Now we have made ready the way and adorned the guest-house to welcome your ambassador here. We beg that you will inform us regarding the new order of things in your great country."

Ch'ing said in answer: "Our Sovereign combines the virtue of the two poles and his beneficence overflows the four seas. It was because of Your Highness' appreciation of our government that an emissary has been sent here." Then Ch'ing was taken to the guest-house. Later he sent a messenger to say to the King that since he had already conveyed the message of his Sovereign, he requested permission to start out for home. Thereupon a banquet was given to Ch'ing to bid him adieu. In addition, a delegation was ordered to accompany Ch'ing and visit the Court with tribute. After that, intercourse came to an end.

#### NOTES

1. The Sui shu, or History of the Sui (581-618) in 58 chüan, was edited by a board headed by Wei Chêng (580-643) during the years 629-636, although part (the chih, or monographs) was not presented to the throne until 656. It was first printed in 1024-1027. It should be noted that another history, the Pei shih [History of the Northern Dynasties] in 100 chüan, which covers the years 386 to 618 and was edited about the same time (circa 629), has an almost identical account in chapter 94. The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is based on that of 1297-1307.



2. Korea entered the Three Kingdoms' period (313-668) after the last Chinese colonies were extinguished in 313. These included Koguryō in the north, Paekche in the southwest, and Silla in the southeast.
3. A Chinese li 里 at this time measured 545.50 m.; cf. des Rotours (translator), Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 2, appendice 2.
4. The Ch'i and Liang dynasties cover the years 479-501 and 520-556.
5. Ame 阿每 for 天, lit., "heaven," common in names of deities and members of the ruling court. Tarashihoko, from Tara-shihiko, an honorific title frequent in male names of emperors, was probably mistaken by the Chinese to be a term for Emperor. However, the reigning sovereign in A.D. 600 was an empress, Suiko (reigned 593-628). Ahakemi 阿輩雞彌 is from ōkimi 大君, lit., "great prince," applied to emperors. Cf. Kimiya Yasuhiko, Nisshi kōtsū-shi (Tōkyō, 1926-1927), vol. 1, p. 98.
6. There is no mention in Japanese accounts of an embassy in the year 600. For the theory that this could be a special embassy from the former Japanese dependency of Mimana (Imna), see Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, pp. 97-98.
7. This passage bears some resemblance to Article 8 of the so-called Seventeen Article Constitution (Jū-shichi-jō no Kempō, promulgated in A.D. 604), which begins: "Let the ministers and functionaries attend the Court early in the morning, and retire late." The Chinese may have misunderstood the Japanese envoy's attempts to describe court functions in his native country. Cf. Akiyama Kenzō, Shina-jin no mitaru Nihon. (Iwanami kōza Tōyō-shichō) (Tōkyō, 1934), p. 19.
8. Kemi 雞彌, from kimi 君, a common form of address. Cf. Shiratori, "The Liu-Ch'iu words in the Sui-Shu," p. 12.
9. Rikamitahori 利歌彌多弗利, derivation obscure. However, it has a remote phonetic similarity to the name of the Prince-Regent Shōtoku, which was Umayado Toyotomimi-no-mikoto 厩戸豊聡耳皇子.
10. The Nihongi substantiates the court ranks given here, but the order of the ranks differs slightly. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXII, pp. 127-128.
11. Kuni, from the Japanese kunikko, or kuni-no-miyakko, local hereditary nobles. Iijima, Nihon jōko-shi-ron, p. 91.
12. The term mu 牧 ("shepherd") meant at this time governor of a chou, or prefecture. Cf. des Rotours (translator), Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, p. 65.
13. Iniki, from inagi, a custodian of an imperial granary in the provinces.



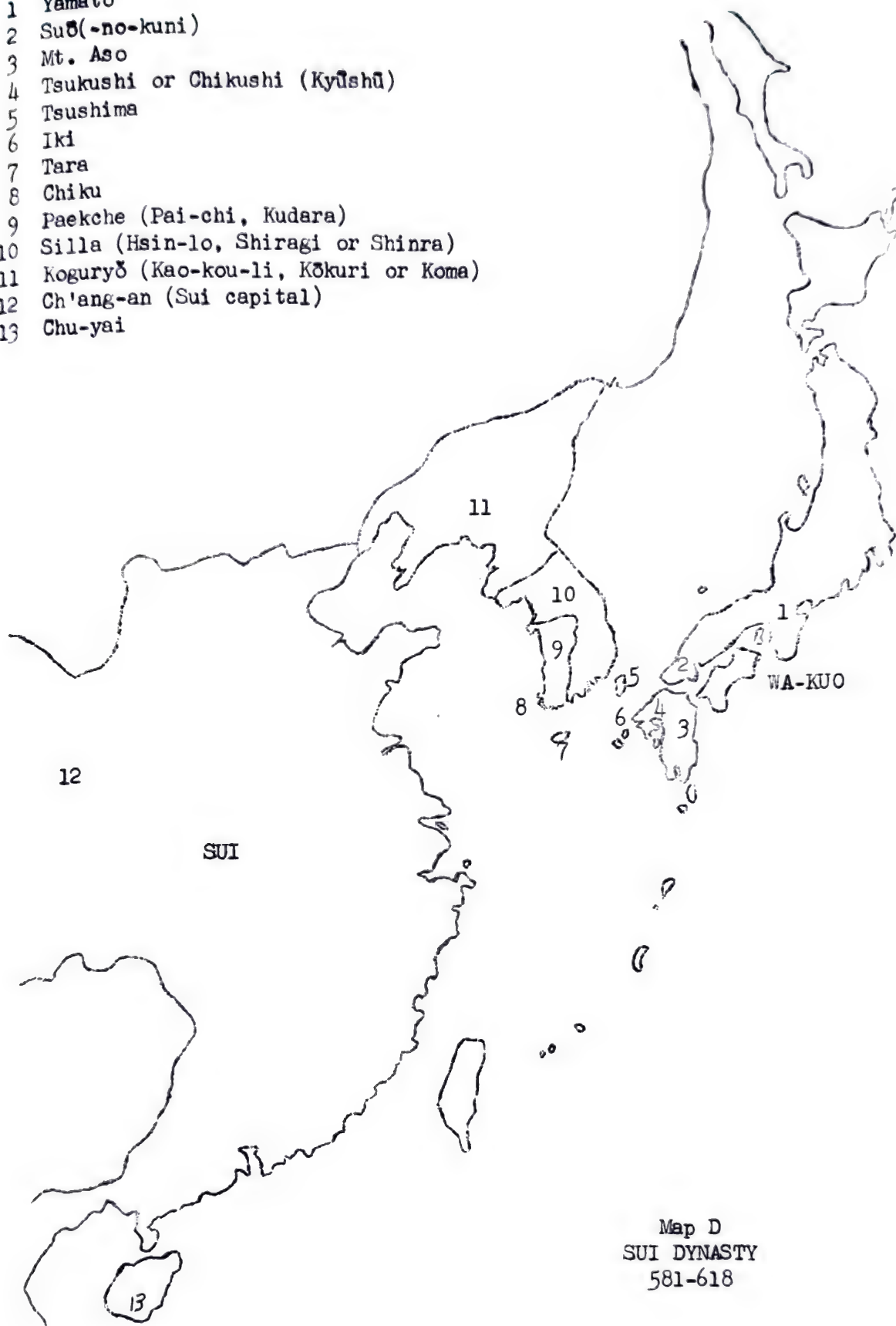
14. Cap-ranks were first instituted in 603 during Empress Suiko's reign. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXII, pp. 127-128.
15. Japanese music was represented at the Sui court in the years 581-600, according to the Sui history, 15:33b. Cf. Maurice Courant, "Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois," Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire (Paris, 1912), vol. 1, p. 192.
16. Buddhism and Chinese learning are said to have percolated into Japan from Paekche during the middle of the 6th century. Cf. G.B. Sanson, Japan: A Short Cultural History (New York, 1943, revised edition), pp. 64-65.
17. The reference to chess is too brief to identify the game. It is probably wei 圍 -ch'i, "surrounding chess," thought to be native to China, played on a square board of 324 squares with round flat stones or pips. Less likely, it may be hsiang 象 -ch'i, "elephant chess," which is supposed by some to have migrated in the 6th century from India to China. Berthold Laufer, however, held that Chinese elephant chess is a "cross-breed between a national Chinese game (now extinct) and the caturanga from India." See his review of Manger, Quelques considérations sur les jeux en Chine, in American Anthropologist (New Series), vol. XXI (1919), p. 87. Juggling is mentioned in Chinese literature of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. (Chuang-tzū and Lieh-tzū).  
 The art of juggling (with balls and later with swords) seems to have been introduced to Japan from China in the Nara Period. The first reference to it is in the Shoku Nihon kōki (compiled 869) under date of 838. Cf. Nakamura Yasaburo (compiler), Dai-hyakka jiten (Tōkyō: Heibonsha edition, 1931-1935), vol. 11, p. 616.  
 Dice games of various sorts were current in China and Japan in early times. Dice have been found by Stein in Central Asia (Serindia [Oxford, 1921], plate 51; Innermost Asia [Oxford, 1928], plate 6), while dice and dice boxes have been preserved for over a millennium in the Shōsōin. For recent discussions see Harada Yoshito, "The interchange of eastern and western cultures as evidenced in the Shōsōin treasures," Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tōkyō), No. 11 (1939), p. 65, and Lien-sheng Yang, "A Note on the So-Called TLV Mirrors and the Game Liu-po 六博," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 9, nos. 3 & 4 (February, 1947), pp. 204-206.
18. Cf. Berthold Laufer, The Domestication of the Cormorant in China and Japan. (Field Museum of Natural History Publication 300. Anthropological Series Vol. XVIII, No. 3) (Chicago, 1931).
19. On the contrary, marriages among blood relations were common. There are numerous references in the early Japanese chronicles. Cf. Akiyama, Shina-jin no mitaru Nihon, p. 21.



20. Variations of this custom of jumping over a sacred fire, a form of marriage charm, may be seen even today in different parts of the country. Cf. Nakayama Tarō, Nihon kon'in-shi (Tōkyō, 1928), cited in Akiyama, Shina-jin no mitaru Nihon, pp. 21-22.
21. The embassy of 607 under Ono-no-Imoko. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXII, vol. 2, p. 136. Tarashihoko is an erroneous reference to Empress Suiko (reigned 593-628) or to the Regent Prince Shōtoku (died 621). See note 5 above.
22. This communication is not extant in Japanese records.
23. The name P'ei Ch'ing 裴清 is rendered P'ei Shih-ch'ing 裴世清 in the Pei shih 94:29b and in the Nihongi (Aston translation, book XXII, pp. 136-139).
24. Chiku 竹, one of the small islands southwest of Chindo 珍島, a larger island near the southwestern tip of Korea. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 109.
25. Tara, the present Saishu Island, known also as Quelpart Island or Cheju, south of Korea.
26. Tsukushi, or Chikushi 竹斯, ancient name for Kyūshū.
27. Suō-no-kuni, probably Suō Province on the northwest shores of the Inland Sea. Itsukushima Island off the coast of Aki-no-kuni east of Suō has also been suggested. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, pp. 109-110.
28. There is a detailed account of the reception of the Chinese envoy in the Nihongi. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXII, pp. 136-139.
29. Ch'ing is, of course, P'ei Ch'ing (or Shih-ch'ing).



- 1 Yamato
- 2 Suō(-no-kuni)
- 3 Mt. Aso
- 4 Tsukushi or Chikushi (Kyūshū)
- 5 Tsushima
- 6 Iki
- 7 Tara
- 8 Chiku
- 9 Paekche (Pai-chi, Kudara)
- 10 Silla (Hsin-lo, Shiragi or Shinra)
- 11 Koguryō (Kao-kou-li, Kōkuri or Koma)
- 12 Ch'ang-an (Sui capital)
- 13 Chu-yai



Map D  
SUI DYNASTY  
581-618



NEW HISTORY OF THE T'ANG DYNASTY

(Hsin T'ang Shu 220:11b-12b)<sup>1</sup>

The Eastern Barbarians: (Nippon) Japan

Japan<sup>2</sup> in former times was called Wa-nu. It is 24,000 li distant from our capital, situated to the southeast of Silla in the middle of the ocean. It is five months' journey to cross Japan from east to west, and a three months' journey from south to north. There are no castles or stockades in that country, only high walls built by placing timbers together. The roofs are thatched with grass. There are over fifty islets there, each with a name of its own, but all under the sovereignty of Japan. A high official is stationed to have surveillance over these communities.

As for the inhabitants, the women outnumber the men. The people are literate and revere the teachings of Buddha. In the government there are twelve official ranks. The family name of the King is Ame.<sup>3</sup> The Japanese say that from their first ruler, known as Amenominakanushi, to Hikonagi,<sup>4</sup> there were altogether thirty-two generations of rulers, all bearing the title of mikoto<sup>5</sup> and residing in the palace of Tsukushi. Upon the enthronement of Jimmu,<sup>6</sup> son of Hikonagi, the title was changed to tennō<sup>7</sup> and the palace was moved to the province of Yamato.<sup>8</sup> The next [ruler] was Suisei,<sup>9</sup> then came in order Annei, Itoku, Kōshō, Tenan, Kōrei, Kōgen, Kaika, Sujin, Suinin, Keikō, Seimu, and Chūai. Upon the death of Chūai, Jingō, great-granddaughter of Kaika, became queen. Then came Ōjin, Nintoku, Richū, Hansei, Inkyō, Ankō, Yūryaku, Seinei, Kensō, Ninken, Buretsu, Keitai, Ankan, Senka, and Kimmei. The eleventh year of Kimmei's reign was the first year of the Ch'êng-shêng era of the Liang dynasty (552).<sup>10</sup> Next came Bidatsu, and then Yōmei, who was called Metarishihiko.



During the last years of the Wai-huang era (581-600) of the Sui dynasty, intercourse with China began for the first time.

The next ruler was Sushun. At the death of Sushun, a granddaughter of Kimmei, Suiko, came to the throne. After her came Jomei, and then Kōgyoku.<sup>11</sup>

The people [of Japan] tie their hair in knots and do not wear official head-gear. They go about barefoot and cover the back [of their heads] with cloth. The nobles wear brocade on their heads. The robes of the women are of solid colors and [have] long skirts worn over undergarments wrapped about the hips. They bind their hair together at the back of the head.

In the time of Yang-ti,<sup>12</sup> the people [of Japan] were allowed to wear head-gear of silk and brocade, with ornaments of gold and gems. They used cloth with designs for their clothing. They had silver flowers eight inches long, attached on each side of their head-dress, to indicate personal status.

In the fifth year of Chên-kuan (631), the Japanese sent an embassy to pay a visit to the Court.<sup>13</sup> In appreciation of this visit from such a distance, the Sovereign gave orders to the official [concerned] not to insist on yearly tribute. He [also] sent Kao Jên-piao,<sup>14</sup> prefect of Hsin-chou,<sup>15</sup> to visit Japan with a message. [Jên-piao, however] quarrelled with the King [of Japan] regarding ceremonial etiquette, and came home disgruntled, without having conveyed the message from the Sovereign. After some time, however, the Japanese sent a letter to the Court in care of an envoy from Silla.

In the early part of Yung-hui (650-656), King Kōtoku was enthroned, and his new era was called Hakuchi.<sup>16</sup> He sent to the Court presents of amber, some pieces of which were as large as a peck measure, and also agate in pieces half as large.<sup>17</sup>

At this time, Silla<sup>18</sup> was being harassed by Koguryō and Paekche. Kao Tsung<sup>19</sup> sent a sealed rescript [to Japan] ordering



[the King] to send reinforcements to succor Silla. But after a short time, King Kōtoku died (645) and his son Amenotoyō-takara<sup>20</sup> was enthroned. [Then] he [also] died, and his son Tenji<sup>21</sup> was enthroned. In the following year (663) an envoy came to the Court accompanied by some Ainus. The Ainus also dwell on those islands. The beards of the Ainus were four feet long. They carried arrows at their necks, and without ever missing would shoot a gourd held on the head of a person standing several tens of steps away.

[Then] Tenji died (671) and his son, Temmu,<sup>22</sup> came to the throne. He died, and his son Sōji was enthroned.

In the first year of Hsien-hêng (670), an embassy<sup>23</sup> came to the Court [from Japan] to offer congratulations upon the conquest of Koguryō. About this time, the Japanese who had studied Chinese came to dislike the name Wa and changed it to Nippon. According to the words of the [Japanese] envoy himself, that name was chosen because the country was so close to where the sun rises. Some say, [on the other hand], that Japan was a small country which had been subjugated by the Wa, and that the latter took over its name. As this envoy was not truthful, doubt still remains. [The envoy] was, besides, boastful, and he said that the domains of his country were many thousands of square li and extended to the ocean on the south and on the west. In the northeast, he said, the country was bordered by mountain ranges beyond which lay the land of the hairy men.

In the first year of Ch'ang-an (701), King Mommu<sup>24</sup> came to the throne, and the new era was called Taihō. The King dispatched the courtier Mabito Awada<sup>25</sup> as an envoy to the Court with indigenous products as tribute. Mabito's title of courtier was similar to the title of president of a ministry in China.<sup>26</sup> He wore a kind of head-gear called chin-tê, which had four flower ornaments on the top; he also wore a purple robe with a silken sash. Mabito was a scholar and adept at composition. His personal deportment was refined. Before he returned home,



the Empress Wu<sup>27</sup> gave him a banquet at the Lin-tê hall and conferred upon him the title of Court Steward.<sup>28</sup>

When Mommu died (707), his daughter, Abe, was enthroned. She [too] died (715), and her son Shōmu was enthroned.<sup>29</sup> This new era was known as Hakki.

Early in the K'ai-yüan era (713-741), Awada came again to the Court. He requested that he might study the Canon under the guidance of scholars [at Court]. By Imperial edict, Chao Hsüan-mo, assistant at the College of Four Gates<sup>30</sup> was appointed as teacher [to give him instruction] at the Court of State Ceremonial.<sup>31</sup> [Awada] presented to him in return for his teaching a piece of wide fabric. Everything given him by the Court he used to purchase books, and these he took home with him. The Assistant Courtier, Nakamura,<sup>32</sup> however, because of his love for Chinese civilization, did not desire to go home. He changed his name to Chao Hêng and was appointed successively as official of the left charged with undertaking commissions of the Emperor<sup>33</sup> and as honorary companion<sup>34</sup> to Prince I.<sup>35</sup> He was very learned, and he returned home [only] after a protracted sojourn.

Shōmu died (749), and his daughter Kōmei<sup>36</sup> was enthroned. This new era was called Tempyō Shōbō.

In the twelfth year of T'ien-pao (753), Chao Hêng again came to the Court.<sup>37</sup> In the Shang-yüan era (760-762) he was chosen governor of Annam with the rank of Grand Counsellor to the Left of the Emperor.<sup>38</sup>

In those times Silla had closed the sea route, and envoys had to come to the Court with tribute by way of the Ming and Yüeh prefectures.<sup>39</sup>

Kōmei died (758), and Ōi<sup>40</sup> was enthroned. He died (764), and Shōmu's daughter, Princess Takano, was made Queen. She died (770), and Shirakabe was enthroned.<sup>41</sup>



During the first year of the Chien-chung era (780), the envoy Mabito Kyōnō<sup>42</sup> brought presents of indigenous products. Mabito was a family name derived from an official title. [Kyōnō] was skilled in calligraphy. The paper he used was made of cocoons and was lustrous -- a kind with which [our] people were not familiar.

In the last part of the Chên-yüan era (785-805), the King was called Kammu. He sent an envoy to the Court.<sup>43</sup> With him went Tachibana Hayanari,<sup>44</sup> a student, and Kūkai, a Buddhist monk. They asked permission to remain and pursue their studies. More than twenty years after this, the envoy Takashina Mabito<sup>45</sup> arrived and requested that he might take Hayanari and others home with him. This request was granted.

Then Nara<sup>46</sup> was enthroned, and after him Saga, Fuwa, and Nimmyō. Under Nimmyō, corresponding to the fourth year of our K'ai-ch'êng era (839), tribute was again brought to the Court.

Next Montoku<sup>47</sup> came to the throne, followed by Seiwa and Yōzei, and then under Kōko,<sup>48</sup> corresponding to the first year of our Kuang-ch'i era (885),....<sup>49</sup>

Among the islands of the eastern sea, there are also the three little kingdoms of Yaku,<sup>50</sup> Haya,<sup>51</sup> and Tane.<sup>52</sup> Silla lies to the north of them and Paekche to the northwest. To the southwest is the prefecture of Yüeh. It is said that [these kingdoms] produce fibres and other curious things.

#### NOTES

1. The [Hsin] T'ang shu, or [New] History of the T'ang (618-907), was edited by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), Sung Ch'i (998-1061), and others during the years 1045-1060. A work of 225 chüan, it covers the period 618-906, and was first printed in 1061-1063. For a discussion of the two histories of the T'ang, Old (completed in 945) and New, see Robert des Rotours (translator), *Le traité des examens traduit de la nouvelle histoire des T'ang* (Paris, 1932), pp. 56-71. The *Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih* edition is based on the 1061-1063 and other Sung editions.



2. As is well known, the two characters 日本 have a variety of pronunciations: Jih-pên in Chinese; Nippon, Nihon, and others in Japanese; Japan in English. The first appearance of this term in Chinese accounts is in the Chiu T'ang shu (compiled by Liu Hsü, 887-946). But it seems to have been in use among the Japanese themselves by the latter half of the seventh century. Cf. Iwai, Shina shisho ni arawaretaru Nihon, p. 18. Aston suggests that the Koreans who went to Japan in great numbers in the early part of the seventh century were the first to use it. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, vol. I, p. 1, note.
3. Cf. note 5 in Sui shu above.
4. "Rulers" here refers to the ancestral deities of the Japanese. The full name of Hikonagi is Higo-nagisa-take u-gaya-fuki-aezu-no-mikoto. For an account of the mythical beginnings of Japan, see Basil Hall Chamberlain (translator), Kojiki "Records of Ancient Matters." (Supplement to Vol. X, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Tōkyō, reprinted 1906); Aston (translator), Nihongi, vol. I, parts 1 and 2.
5. Mikoto, lit., "august thing or augustness," used to form titles of gods and princes. Cf. Ernest Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tōkyō), vol. VII, part 2 (1879), p. 118.
6. Jimmu (reigned B.C. 660-585), posthumous name of the founder of the Japanese nation, according to orthodox accounts. These names of the earlier sovereigns were invented during the reign of Kwammu Tennō (782-806). Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book III, p. 109, note.
7. Tennō, usually translated "Emperor" or "Sovereign," was adopted from the Chinese during the Suiko Period (593-628) and affixed as a title to all previous and subsequent Japanese rulers. To the Japanese it meant "Supreme Majesty," as in sumera-mikoto, one of the more common titles for rulers, prior to Empress Suiko's reign. The second syllable of tennō comes from sumera, which has the same root as suberu, meaning "to unite as a whole," hence, "to have control of." Cf. Satow, "Ancient Japanese Rituals," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tōkyō), vol. VII, p. 118; Aston (translator), Nihongi, vol. I, p. 109; and Heibon-sha (compiler), Dai-hyakka jiten, vol. 18, p. 312.
8. Yamato in Honshū.
9. All the sovereigns from Suisei (reigned B.C. 584-549), the second tennō, to Kimmei (reigned A.D. 539-571), the twenty-ninth tennō, are listed in chronological order in this paragraph. However, the name of Empress Jingō, consort of Chūai Tennō, has been dropped from official chronologies since the compilation of the Dai-Nihon-shi.



10. Correct Kimmie 11th year to 13th year.
11. Sushun (reigned 587-592); Suiko (reigned 593-628); Jomei (reigned 629-641); Kōgyoku (reigned 642-645).
12. Yang Kuang (580-618), son of Yang Chien, and second emperor of the Sui, reigned from 605-618. He was canonized as Yang-ti.
13. This embassy, under Inukami-no-kimi Mitasuki, had left Japan in 630. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXIII, p. 165.
14. Kao Jên-piao was given orders to leave in the eleventh month (December) according to Ssū-ma Kuang (1019-1086), Tzū chih t'ung chien 193-21a, and he left Japan in 633 (January), according to the Nihongi, book XXII. See Aston (translator), Nihongi, vol. 2, p. 166. The above mentioned Chinese and Japanese works both give his name as Kao Piao-jên.
15. According to E.H. Parker, who does not cite his authority, Hsin-chou is in Shantung; cf. his "Ma Twan-lin's Account of Japan up to A.D. 1200. Including the Japanese Chronicles as written down for the Chinese by the Japanese in A.D. 1000," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tōkyō), vol. XXII, part 1 (1893), p. 46, note 69. The treatise on geography of the Hsin T'ang shu 39:8b, however, lists Hsin-chou in the region of Ho-tung (centered around modern T'ai-yüan, Shansi).
16. The era-name was changed to Hakuchi in 650, but Kōtoku's reign began in 645, the year of the Taika Reform.
17. There were two official embassies during Kōtoku's reign (645-654): one in 653 which included a large contingent of student priests; and the other in 654. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXV, pp. 242, 245.
18. Silla, Koguryō, and Paekche were all states in what is now Korea. The T'ang conquered Paekche in 663, and the T'ang and Silla jointly destroyed Koguryō in 668.
19. Kao Tsung, canonized name of Li Chih (628-683), reigned from 650-683.
20. Erroneous reference to Ame-toyo-takara ikashi-hi-tarashihime, the former Empress Kōgyoku who was restored as Empress Saimei (reigned 655-661). Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXVI, p. 248.
21. Tenji (reigned 661-671), or Tenchi. His accession was in 662, but he did not assume his title until 668. Thus, the reference here is to the embassy of 669. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 122.
22. Temmu (reigned 673-686) was preceded by Kōbun (reigned 671-672), who is not listed here. Sōji 總持 is an error for Jitō (reigned 686-697), who was the son of Tenchi, not Temmu. Cf. Tsuji Zennosuke, Dai Nihon nempyō (Tōkyō, 1943),



Supplements 4-5.

23. This is a reference to the embassy of 669 which probably arrived in China about 670. However, there is only scant information about this embassy in Japanese records. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXVII, p. 292; and Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, pp. 122, 131.
24. Mommu's accession was in 697. The era-name was changed to Taihō in 701.
25. The departure of this embassy of 701 was delayed until the following year because of a storm. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 122.
26. There were six ministries under the T'ang. Cf. des Rotours (translator), Le traité des examens traduit de la nouvelle histoire des T'ang, pp. 6-7.
27. Empress Wu (625-705), widow of the second T'ang emperor, who succeeded in deposing the empress of Li Chih in 655 and usurping the throne after his death in 683. She abdicated on February 22, 705. The Lin-tê hall was located next to the Hanlin College in the Ta-ming palace grounds. See des Rotours (translator), Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée traduits, vol. 2, appendice 2, plan 4.
28. The Ssū-shan 司膳 was a bureau for the supply of provisions for the sacrifices. Cf. des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, p. 87.
29. Mommu (died 707); Abe, name of Empress Gemmei (reigned 707-715); Shōmu (reigned 724-749); Genshō (reigned 715-724) is omitted in this account. Hakki below is an error for Shinki (724-728).
30. This College had six professors (po-shih) and six assistant professors (chu chiao). Cf. des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, pp. 452-453.
31. This Court was situated in the imperial city Ch'ang-an. Cf. des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, pp. 408-417; vol. 2, appendice 2, plan 2.
32. Nakamura made many friends, among them the poet Li Po (701?-762). Once when he was believed to have been drowned at sea Li Po composed a poem, recently translated into English by Shigeyoshi Obata, The Works of Li Po, the Chinese Poet (New York, 1922), p. 107.
33. For the title tso-pu-chüeh, see des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, p. 151.
34. Companion of a prince (yu 友) was an official of the 5th degree, 4th class. Cf. des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 2, p. 630.
35. Prince I was 6th of the 30 sons of Hsüan Tsung (temple name



of Li Lung-chi, 685 or 686-762); see Hsin T'ang shu 70B:43b and 82:4a.

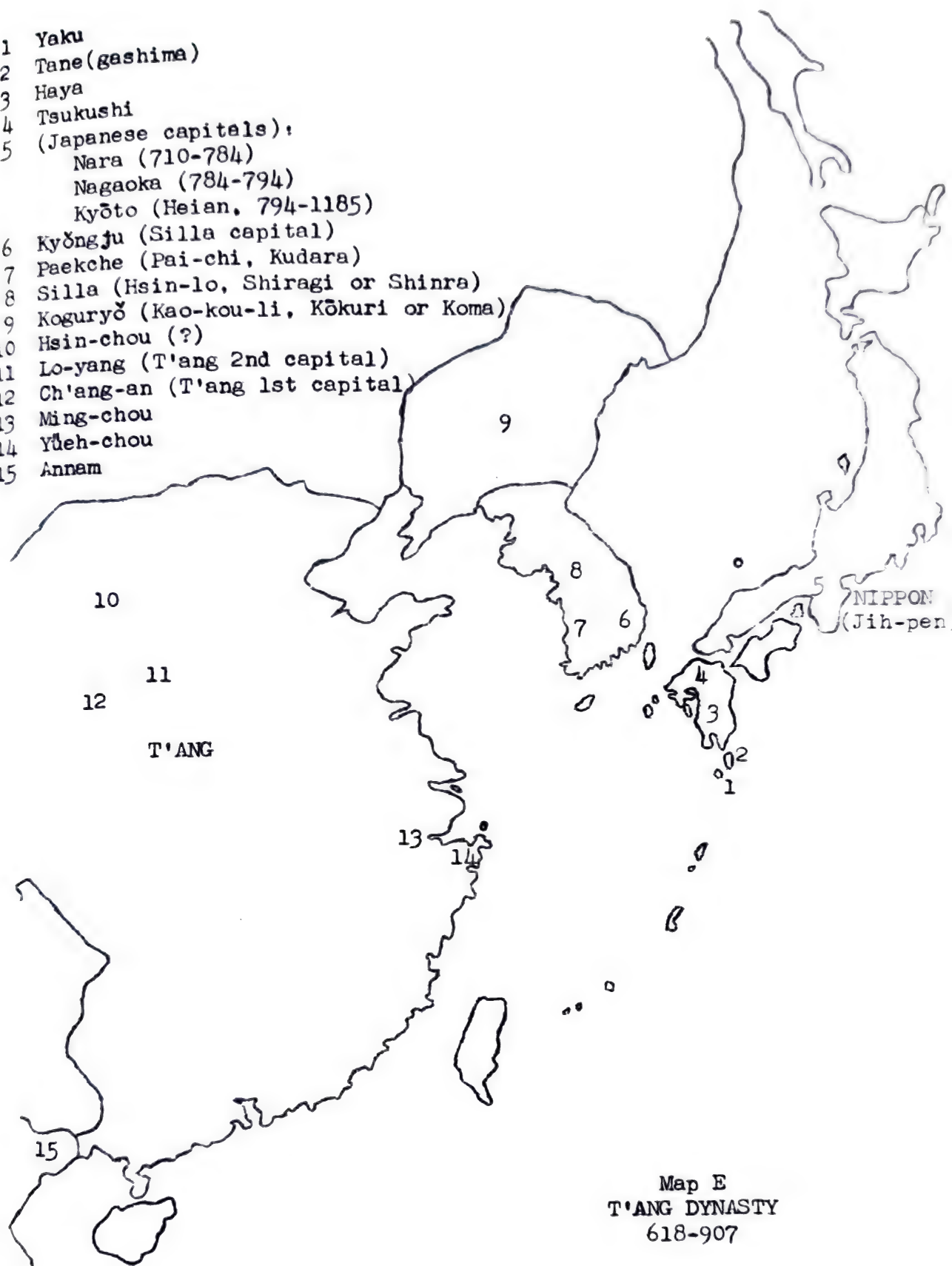
36. Kōmei 孝明, error for Kōken 孝謙 (reigned 749-758).
37. The embassy of 750 which embarked from Naniwa in 753. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 122.
38. On the functions of the Grand Counsellor see des Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée, vol. 1, pp. 141-142.
39. Ming-chou and Yüen-hou are modern Ningpo and Shao-hsing in Chekiang. For a discussion of the routes followed by embassies at this time, cf. Edwin O. Reischauer, "Notes on T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 5, no. 2 (June, 1940), pp. 142-164.
40. Ōi, name of Junnin Tennō (reigned 758-764).
41. Princess Takano, the former Empress Kōken, reascended the throne as Empress Shōtoku (reigned 764-770). Shirakabe, name of Kōnin Tennō (reigned 770-781).
42. Kyōnō, an attempt to transliterate the name of the envoy, Fuse Kiyonao, who headed the embassy of 778. His party embarked from Naniwa in the fifth month of the following year. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 126.
43. The embassy of 801 under Fujiwara-no-Kadonomaro, which sailed from Kyūshū in 804. Only two of the four ships which comprised the party are definitely known to have reached China. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 126.
44. Tachibana Hayanari, who, upon his return to Japan, was involved in a political intrigue and banished. He died en-route to Izu, the place of exile. Cf. Tokugawa Mitsukuni and others (editor), Dai Nihon-shi (Tōkyō, 1928-1929), vol. 5, pp. 137-138.
45. Takashina Mabito -- Takashina Tōnari, one of the subordinate officials of the embassy of 801. It is not known whether he made a second trip to China after he returned in 806. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, pp. 126, 166.
46. Nara, name of Heizei Tennō (reigned 806-809); Sada (reigned 809-823); Fuwa, error for Junna Tennō (reigned 823-833), arising from similarity of fu 浮 to jun 淳. Nimmyō's accession was in 833. In 834 an embassy was commissioned to go to China, which, after two failures to set sail, finally departed in 838. It returned to Japan in 839. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 127.
47. Montoku (reigned 850-858); Seiwa (reigned 858-876); Yōzei (reigned 876-884).
48. Kōkō (reigned 885-887).



49. Something appears to be missing from the text. In the Sung history (see below) it is recorded that Kōkō sent the Buddhist priest Sōei to China.
50. Yaku, island southwest of Tanegashima. The earliest reference in Japanese accounts to this island is in the Nihongi under date of 616. Cf. Aston (translator), Nihongi, book XXII, p. 146. See also Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 102, note, and map opposite p. 146.
51. Haya 波耶, probably from Haya 隼 of Hayato 隼人, name of a tribe that inhabited southern Kyūshū. Cf. Shiratori, "The Liu-Ch'iu words in the Sui-Shu," Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tōkyō), No. 8 (1936), p. 28.
52. Tanegashima, island off the southern coast of Satsuma.



- 1 Yaku
- 2 Tane(gashima)
- 3 Haya
- 4 Tsukushi
- 5 (Japanese capitals):  
Nara (710-784)  
Nagaoka (784-794)  
Kyōto (Heian, 794-1185)
- 6 Kyōngju (Silla capital)
- 7 Paekche (Pai-chi, Kudara)
- 8 Silla (Hsin-lo, Shiragi or Shinra)
- 9 Koguryō (Kao-kou-li, Kōkuri or Koma)
- 10 Hsin-chou (?)
- 11 Lo-yang (T'ang 2nd capital)
- 12 Ch'ang-an (T'ang 1st capital)
- 13 Ming-chou
- 14 Yüeh-chou
- 15 Annam



Map E  
T'ANG DYNASTY  
618-907



## HISTORY OF THE SUNG DYNASTY

(Sung Shih 491:4b-12a)<sup>1</sup>

### Foreign Countries: (Nippon) Japan

Japan was formerly called Wa-nu, but adopted the name of Japan because of its nearness to the place where the sun rises. Some say that [the Japanese] changed the former name because they did not like it.

The territory [of Japan] extends many thousands of li from east to west and from south to north. It reaches to the sea in the southwest, but in the northeast it is bordered by mountain ranges, beyond which lies the land of the hairy men.

In the early days of the Later Han dynasty, embassies [from Japan] began coming to the Court with tribute. They continued throughout the succeeding dynasties of Wei, Chin, [Liu] Sung, and Sui. During the T'ang dynasty, envoys came with tribute to the Court in the eras of Yung-hui, Hsien-ch'ing, Ch'ang-an, K'ai-yüan, T'ien-pao, Shang-yüan, Chên-yüan, Yüan-ho, and K'ai-ch'êng.

In the first year of Yung hsi (984), the Japanese monk, Chōnen,<sup>2</sup> came from across the sea with several other Buddhists and presented to the Court ten or more bronze works of art and more than ten other objects, together with one volume each of "Record of Government Officials," and "The Chronicle of Kings."<sup>3</sup> Chōnen appeared in a green robe. He said that he was of the Fujiwara family and that his father was a matsura<sup>4</sup> -- that is, an official of the fifth rank. Chō was adept at calligraphy, but not well versed in Chinese speech. When asked about his country, he would only reply in writing. He said: "In my country there are five canons and Buddhist sūtras, and also collections of the writings of Tai Chü-i<sup>5</sup> in seventy volumes, all obtained from China. The soil is suitable for various cereals, but oats are little cultivated. Trade is



carried on by means of copper coins on which is the inscription 'Ch'ien Wên Ta Pao.'<sup>6</sup> Domestic animals are buffalo, mules, and sheep. Rhinoceri and elephants are numerous.<sup>7</sup> Sericulture is carried on, and much silk is woven of lovely thinness and fineness of texture. Music is of two kinds, Chinese<sup>8</sup> and Korean. The seasons and the temperature are generally the same as in this country. On our eastern border, there live barbarians whose bodies and faces are all hairy. Gold is produced in the remote regions of the east. Silver is obtained from a separate island to the west. Both [gold and silver] are used for tribute. The king of the country is called wang from generation to generation. The present ruler is the sixty-fourth in line.<sup>9</sup> Officials and officers, both civil and military, are all hereditary.

According to the Chronicles, the first ruler was called Amenominakanushi, and was followed by Amenomurakumo.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter all bore the title of mikoto. First came Amencyaegumo no Mikoto, then in order, Amenoiyagiki no Mikoto, Amenooshikatsu no Mikoto, Miwa no Mikoto, Yorodama no Mikoto, Riritama no Mikoto, Kunisatsuchi no Mikoto, Uijini no Mikoto, Kutsuni no Mikoto, Omotarumi no Mikoto, Kunitokotachi no Mikoto, Ameno-kagami no Mikoto, Amenoyorozu no Mikoto, Awanagi no Mikoto, Izanagi no Mikoto, Susano no Mikoto, Amaterasu Ōmikami no Mikoto, Masayakatsu Hayahame no Oshiomimi, Amehiko no Mikoto, Honoo no Mikoto, and Hikonagi no Mikoto -- altogether twenty-three generations which held their Court at Himuka<sup>11</sup> in Tsukushi.

The fourth son of Hikonagi was called Jimmu Tennō. He removed the Court from Tsukushi and went to Kashiwabara in the province of Yamato. The first year of his enthronement was during the reign of King Hsi<sup>12</sup> of the Chou dynasty (ca. B.C. 1027-256).

After him came Suisei Tennō, Annei Tennō, Itoku Tennō, Kōshō Tennō, Kōan Tennō, Kōrei Tennō, Kōgen Tennō, Kaika Tennō,



Sujin Tennō, Suinin Tennō, Keikō Tennō, Seimu Tennō, and Chūai Tennō. The latter, according to the Japanese, is now enshrined as the great deity of Kashii.<sup>13</sup> Next in line came the Empress Jingu Tennō, granddaughter of Kaika Tennō. She was also known as the Empress Okinaga-tarishihime Tennō and is now enshrined, the Japanese say, as the great deity of Iwara.

Next in line came Ōjin Tennō,<sup>14</sup> in whose reign, by way of Paekche, Chinese characters were introduced for the first time. This was in the year of the dragon and tree (A.D. 284). [Ōjin Tennō] is now known as the Bodhisattva Hachiman.<sup>15</sup> He had a state minister named Takenouchi, whose age is said to have been three hundred and seven years.<sup>16</sup>

[Then] in order came Nintoku Tennō, Richū Tennō, Hanzei Tennō, Inkyō Tennō, Ankō Tennō, Yūryaku Tennō, Seinei Tennō, Kensō Tennō, Ninken Tennō, Buretsu Tennō, Keitai Tennō, Ankan Tennō, Senka Tennō, and Ame-no Oku Ōshihiraki Hironiwa no Tennō, also known as Kimmei Tennō.

In the eleventh year of the last king's reign,<sup>17</sup> the year of the monkey and water, Buddhism was introduced for the first time from Paekche. This year corresponds to the first year of the Ch'êng-shêng era (552) in the Liang dynasty.

Next in line came Bidatsu Tennō, then Yōmei Tennō, whose son was known as Prince Shōtoku.<sup>18</sup> It is said that [this Prince], when he was three years of age, could understand the words of ten persons speaking at the same time. At the age of seven, he understood Buddhism. While he was giving lectures in the temple<sup>19</sup> on the Śrīmālā[-devī-siṃhanāda] Sūtra,<sup>20</sup> lotus flowers rained down from heaven.<sup>21</sup>

During the [Chinese] era of K'ai-huang (581-600), under the Sui dynasty, an embassy reached China from across the sea in search of the [Saddharma-]Puṇḍarīka Sūtra.<sup>22</sup>

[The next ruler] was Sushun Tennō; then came the Empress Suiko Tennō, daughter of Kimmei Tennō. Then came Jomei Tennō,



Kōgyoku Tennō, and Kotoku Tennō.

In the fourth year of the Hakuchi era (653), the monk Dōshō<sup>23</sup> arrived in China to pursue the study of Buddhism. Under the guidance of Hsüan-tsang,<sup>24</sup> of Indian fame, he studied the sūtras, the Vinayas, and the Śāstras.<sup>25</sup> This year corresponds with the fourth year of T'ung-hui in the T'ang dynasty (653).

Then came the Empress Ametoyotakara Omohitarashihime Tennō,<sup>26</sup> who ordered the monk Chitsū<sup>27</sup> to go to China in quest of the Fa-hsiang doctrine of the Fāyāna school. In this country this was the third year of the Hsien-ch'ing era (658).

The next ruler was Tenji Tennō; then came Temmu Tennō, Jitō Tennō,<sup>28</sup> and then Mommu Tennō. The third year of the [Japanese] Taihō era<sup>29</sup> corresponds to the first year of the Ch'ang-an era (701) in China. In that year Awada Mabito was sent to visit the T'ang Court<sup>30</sup> in quest of books, and the monk Dōju<sup>31</sup> in quest of sūtras.

Then came Abe Tennō,<sup>32</sup> and next in order Kiye Tennō and Shōmu Tennō. In the second year of Hōki,<sup>33</sup> the bishop Gembō<sup>34</sup> was sent to pay homage to the Court. That year corresponds to the fourth year of K'ai-yüan (716).

Then came the Empress Kōmei Tennō,<sup>35</sup> who was the daughter of Shōmu Tennō. In the fourth year of the era of Tempyō Shōbō,<sup>36</sup> which corresponds to the eleventh year of our era of T'ien-pao (752), an envoy and a monk were sent to visit the T'ang Court in quest of canons, both Buddhist and Confucian, and to seek a master of Vinaya.

Then came Ōi Tennō, next the Empress Takano-hime Tennō,<sup>37</sup> daughter of Shōmu Tennō, and then Shirakabe Tennō.<sup>38</sup> In the twenty-fourth year [of Kammu Tennō, 805?], two monks, Ryōsen and Gyōga,<sup>39</sup> were sent to visit the T'ang in order to pay homage at Wu-t'ai shan<sup>40</sup> and to study Buddhism.

Then came Kammu Tennō,<sup>41</sup> who sent Fujiwara Kadono,<sup>42</sup> together with the great master, Kūkai, and [Saichō,<sup>43</sup> priest of



the Enryaku-ji, to visit China and pay homage at T'ien-t'ai shan.<sup>44</sup> They took back to Japan the Chêng-kuan-i of Chih-chê.<sup>45</sup> This was the first year of the Yüan-ho era (806).

Next came Nara Tennō,<sup>46</sup> and then Saga Tennō, Junnin Tennō, and Nimmyō Tennō.<sup>47</sup> During our eras of K'ai-ch'êng (836-840) and Hui-ch'ang (841-846), monks were sent to visit our country and go on pilgrimages to Wu-t'ai shan.

Then came Montoku Tennō,<sup>48</sup> in our era of Ta-chung (846-860). Next came Seiwa Tennō, Yōzei Tennō, and Kōkō Tennō.<sup>49</sup> The last sent the priest Sōei<sup>50</sup> to this country so that he could take Buddhism back home with him. This was in the first year of our Kuang-ch'i era (885).

Then came Ninna Tennō.<sup>51</sup> During the Lung-tê era (921-923) of the [Hou or Later] Liang Dynasty, the monk Kanken<sup>52</sup> and others were sent to visit our country. Then came Daigo Tennō, Tenkei Tennō, and Murakami Tennō.<sup>53</sup> [The last] reigned at a time corresponding to the Kuang-shun era (951-953) of the Later Chou dynasty.

Next came Reizei Tennō,<sup>54</sup> father of the present Sovereign; and then Morihira Tennō,<sup>55</sup> who is the present Sovereign, now reigning as the sixty-fourth in line.

The Inner Circuit is composed of Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu -- altogether five provinces, comprising fifty-three counties. The Eastern Sea Circuit is composed of Iga, Ise, Shima, Owari, Mikawa, Tōtōmi, Suruga, Izu, Kai, Sagami, Musashi, Awa, Kazusa, and Hitachi -- altogether fourteen provinces,<sup>56</sup> comprising a hundred and sixteen counties. The Eastern Mountain Circuit has Onu,<sup>57</sup> Mino, Hida, Shinano, Kōzuke, Shimotsuke, Mutsu, and Dewa -- altogether eight provinces, comprising a hundred and twenty-two counties. The Northern Shore Circuit has Wakasa, Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, Echigo, and Sado -- altogether seven provinces, comprising thirty counties. The Back Mountain Circuit has Tamba, Tango,



Tajima, Inaba, Hōki, Izumo, Iwami, and Ōki -- altogether eight provinces, comprising fifty-two counties. The Front Mountain Circuit is composed of Harima, Ikaruga, Bizen, Bitchū, Bingo, Aki, Suō, and Nagato -- altogether eight provinces, comprising sixty-nine counties. The Southern Sea Circuit has Kii, Awaji, Awa, Sanuki, Iyo, and Tosa, in all six provinces, comprising forty-eight counties. The Western Sea Circuit has Chikuzen, Chikugo, Buzen, Bungo, Hizen, Higo, Hyūga, Ōsumi, and Satsuma -- altogether nine provinces, comprising ninety-three counties. There are also the three islands of Iki, Tsushima, and Tane, each of which contains two counties. All these provinces are known as the Five Inner Provinces, the Seven Circuits, and the Three Islands, and comprise a total of 3,773 villages, 414 postal stations, and 883-329 taxable inhabitants. The number of people aside from the taxable inhabitants is not exactly known. All the preceding is taken from the written account of Chōnen.

According to our records, in the twentieth year of K'ai-huang (600) under the Sui dynasty, the King of Wa, whose family name was Ame and who was called Shitarishihiko, sent an envoy to the Court with a written message. In the fifth year of Yung-hui (654), under the T'ang, an envoy came with presents of amber and agate. In the second year of Ch'ang-an (702), the courtier Mabito<sup>58</sup> was sent here with indigenous products. Early in the K'ai-yüan era (713-741), also, an envoy was sent to the Court.<sup>59</sup> In the twelfth year of T'ien-pao (753) an envoy was sent here with tribute.<sup>60</sup> In the first year of Yüan-ho (806), Takashima Mabito was sent with tribute.<sup>61</sup> In the fourth year of K'ai-ch'êng (839) an envoy was again sent with tribute.<sup>62</sup> All the preceding is in accord with what Chōnen wrote.

During the eras of Ta-chung (847-860), Kuang-ch'i (885-888), and Lung-tê (921-923), and also the era of Kuang-shun (951-953) of the [Later] Chou (951-960), monks were sent to visit this country. In the History of the Five Dynasties included in the T'ang History,<sup>63</sup> however, there is no mention of



Japan.

During the Hsien-hêng era (670-674) of the T'ang,<sup>64</sup> and also in the twenty-third year of K'ai-yüan (735),<sup>65</sup> the twelfth year of Ta-li (777),<sup>66</sup> and the first year of Chien-chung (790),<sup>67</sup> envoys again came to the Court bringing tribute, although there is no mention of them in the record of Chōnen.

T'ai Tsung<sup>68</sup> gave audience to Chōnen and treated him with the utmost cordiality, extending him hospitality and bestowing favors on him. He was granted the purple robe<sup>69</sup> and was given a lodging in the temple of T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo.<sup>70</sup>

When the Emperor learned that the throne of Japan had come down in a single lineal succession and that the Court offices were all hereditary, he remarked to his premier with a sigh: "They are just insular barbarians; yet their dynasty is everlasting and the Court offices are handed down in unbroken succession. This is indeed the way of antiquity. Since the disorders at the end of the T'ang, the domain of our country has been split up. The five dynasties, among them Liang (907-923) and Chou (950-960), have been the most short-lived of all, and their state ministers were seldom succeeded by their heirs. We know that our virtue is far less than that of our ancient sovereigns; yet we [too], in the early morning and late at night, have zealously and conscientiously studied the bases of government without ever giving ourselves leisure or pleasure, in an effort to establish the foundation of a lasting dynasty, to set an example for a long time to come, and to provide for the well-being of our descendants. It is our solicitude that the successors of our state ministers shall come into the fiefs of their fathers, generation after generation. This is what I have in mind."

Japan has a great number of Chinese books. Chōnen on his visit [here] obtained a copy of the Hsiao Ching<sup>71</sup> and one of the New Commentary on the Hsiao Ching,<sup>72</sup> section XV, by Prince Yüeh -- both volumes bound in pink silk with gold embroidery



and crystal rollers. The Hsiao Ching contained the explanatory notes of Chêng.<sup>73</sup> Prince Yüeh was none other than Prince Chên of Yüeh, the son of T'ai Tsung of the T'ang. The New Commentary was the work of Jên Hsi-ku and others, secretaries to the court.

Chōnen also requested that he might pay a visit to [court] at T'ai. This was granted with the order that food should be provided all the way. He asked also for a printed copy of the Tripiṭaka.<sup>74</sup> This was granted by Imperial order. In the second year [of Yung-hsi, 985]<sup>75</sup> he returned home on board a ship belonging to Chêng-tê, a merchant of Ming-hai hsien in T'ai-chou.<sup>76</sup>

Several years later, when Jên-tê's ship returned to China, Chōnen sent his disciple Kiin<sup>77</sup> with a memorial expressing his appreciation. This read as follows: "The monk Chōnen, of the Tōdai-ji, Japan, who was granted the purple robe and the title of Pa Chi Ta Shih<sup>78</sup> by the great Court, begs respectfully to say that he saw in a dream a wounded serpent,<sup>79</sup> which reminded him of the generosity of the Chinese sovereign. Dead bones joined together still defy the enemies of the Wei dynasty.

"Chōnen, a lowly monk, is poor indeed in gifts. How could he forget the kindness and magnanimity of your Court? With awe and veneration, bowing low as one sentenced to death, Chōnen takes the liberty of recalling the time when he left the shore [of his native land] on board a merchantman to go to visit the Chinese Court once in his lifetime. Proceeding westward far across the waves for a hundred thousand li, with the setting sun in sight, he bade farewell to the east as the wind swept by the fast receding mountains. He was truly fortunate, poorly talented though he is, to visit the glorious Middle Kingdom. There edict followed edict, one after the other, permitting him to tour the outlying countryside. His long cherished dream was thus fulfilled, and he was enabled to see with his own eyes the splendors of your Majesty's domain.



Furthermore, in your golden palace he caught a glimpse one morning of the auspicious cloud in the circle of nine prohibitions; also in the rocky abode, he beheld one morning a holy light above Wu-t'ai. Under the guidance of [masters of the] San Tsang,<sup>80</sup> he studied Buddhism and had great pleasure in making pilgrimages to various monasteries.

"In addition to this great good fortune, your Majesty allowed the divine scripts of the lotus flower to be taken out of the northern gate of the northern palace and also permitted the Buddha's message in Hindu script on palm leaves to be taken east of the eastern sea.

"Because of this repeated imperial generosity, he was enabled to retrace his steps the way he came and set sail late in the summer from T'ai-chou. He reached the outlying regions of his native land in the middle of autumn. By the next spring he came again to his old village. Monks and laymen awaited him with cheers; dukes and earls welcomed with adoration.

"All this made him think only of your Majesty, whose grace overflows all the seas, whose mercy rises as high as the five mountains,<sup>81</sup> whose reign surpasses that of the ancient Sage Kings of antiquity, and whose person is fresh as the morning orb.

"Chōnen is as one who has left the abode of the Phoenix and returned home to a mound of ants. No matter where he is, however, he thinks only of the glory of the imperial virtues. Over the mountains and beyond the waters, he can never forget the depth of the imperial solicitude. Even if he gave up a life lasting a hundred years, how could he ever repay even one day of the imperial generosity? Brush in hand, he wipes away the tears. The paper is spread out in front of him. His heart throbs. Because of his overwhelming sense of gratitude, he takes the liberty of sending a memorial by his venerable disciple Kain, who bears the title of Great Master Who Carries the Torch, together with Soka,<sup>82</sup> who was initiated and ordained in the Vinaya in your country."



The memorial was dated the second year of his country's era of Eiin (988), cyclical year of earth and the rat, second month and eighth day (February 27), which date is the first year of Tuan-kung.

There was a second letter listing the tribute sent, as follows: "A sea-green [sūtra] case, containing a Buddhist sūtra; a flower-shaped flat box inlaid with shell and metal, containing a pair of rosaries, one made of amber and of green, red and white crystals, and one of pink and black wood and seeds of the Bodhi tree; a woven basket containing two drinking cups inlaid with shell; a basket made of vine stems containing two conch-shells; twenty pieces of stained leather; a gold and silver lacquered box containing two wigs; and another box containing the two scrolls of the autograph of Tō Sari,<sup>83</sup> State Counsellor of the senior fourth rank, together with a scroll containing a list of the gifts, also a scroll of the memorial; a gold and silver lacquered box containing a golden ink-slab, a deer-hair brush, an ink-stick made of pine soot, a water-container, and a knife; a gold and silver lacquered box containing twenty cypress-wood fans; two folding fans;<sup>84</sup> a pair of comb-cases inlaid with shell, one containing two hundred seventy combs of red wood, and the other ten pairs of bone-work fans; a writing-stand inlaid with shell; a book-stand inlaid with shell; a flat gold and silver lacquered box containing five hiki<sup>85</sup> of delicate white clothing; a deer-skin bag containing a badger-skin vest; a saddle and bridle inlaid with shell; copper and iron stirrups; a crop of crimson thread; a dust-protector; a pair of screens with Japanese painting; and seven hundred catties<sup>86</sup> of sulphur in lumps."

In the fifth year of the Hsien-p'ing era (1002), a certain overseas trader, Chou Shih-ch'ang of Chien-chou,<sup>87</sup> met with storms and was driven to the coast of Japan. After staying there for seven years, he succeeded in returning home and brought with him the Japanese, Tomokichi. Our sovereign granted



them an audience. Shih-ch'ang took this occasion to present poems composed by Japanese. They were highly polished in rhetoric but shallow and of no merit. When asked about customs and manners [in Japan], [Shih-ch'ang] said that all the women wore their hair long and put on two or three garments at a time. He also told the names of provinces and of eras. The sovereign ordered Tomokichi to shoot with the wooden bow he had brought with him, but the arrow did not go very far. When asked for an explanation, he said that in Japan the people were not used to fighting. Tomokichi was sent home with a gift of current coins.

In the first year of Ching-tê (1004), a Japanese monk, Jaku Shō,<sup>88</sup> arrived with others, eight in all. Jaku Shō was not versed in Chinese speech, but he knew the characters and his calligraphy was excellent. He carried on conversation by means of brush and paper. By Imperial decree he was awarded the title of Yüan T'ung Ta Shih,<sup>89</sup> together with the privilege of wearing the square purple robe.

In the twelfth month of the fourth year of T'ien-shêng (January 11 - February 8, 1027), a report was received from Ming-chou<sup>90</sup> to the effect that the Dazaifu<sup>91</sup> of Japan had sent an emissary with tribute of indigenous products but without a memorial from the government. It was therefore decreed not to accept [the tribute]. After that, no tribute was brought to the Court. Traders from the south seas, however, sometimes came to China with merchandise from Japan.

In the fifth year of Hsi-ning (1072), a priest named Jōjun<sup>92</sup> arrived at T'ai-chou. He stopped at the temple of Kuo-ch'ing<sup>93</sup> in T'ien-t'ai and asked that he might remain there. The provincial government conveyed this request to the Court, and [Jōjun] was ordered by Imperial decree to appear at the capital. He took [there] gifts of a silver incense vase; a rosary made of the seeds of the Bodhi tree, white emeralds, five beautiful crystals, black teak wood and amber; and silk fabrics sea-green in color. Because of the excellence in Vinaya discip-



line of this visitor from a distant land, Shên Tsung<sup>94</sup> had him lodged at the temple of K'ai-pao.<sup>95</sup> He [also] bestowed the purple robe on all the priests who had arrived with him. Thereafter all those who brought tribute were Buddhist priests.

In the first year of Yüan-fêng (1078), the interpreter, priest Chūkai,<sup>96</sup> arrived as an emissary. The title of Hu Hua Huai Tê Ta Shih<sup>97</sup> was bestowed upon him. Then a report came from the government of Ming-chou to the effect that it had received an official note from the Dazaifu of Japan through the emissary Sun Chung requesting that Chūkai be sent home. [Sun Chung] had brought tribute including two hundred pieces of silk and five thousand liang<sup>98</sup> of mercury. He was a [Chinese] overseas trader, and the procedure regarding tribute was different in his case from that with foreigners. He requested that he might himself write an answer to the note and send the payment for the merchandise back in care of Chūkai upon the return of the latter to the east. This request was granted.

Early in the ninth year of Ch'ien-tao (1173), tribute was brought and presented through the office of the Superintendent of Religion<sup>99</sup> of Ming-chou.

In the second year of Shun-hsi (1175), a member of the crew of a Japanese ship, Higo Tōtarō, struck to death a certain Chêng. By Court order Tarō was put in chains and handed over to the Superintendent of Religion so that he might be taken home and arraigned according to the law of his country.

In the third year (1176), a Japanese boat was shipwrecked on the coast of Ming-chou. The crew were without provisions and more than a hundred of them had to beg their way to Lin-an-fu.<sup>100</sup> By order of the Court all these men were given every day fifty copper coins and two shêng<sup>101</sup> of rice, until such time as they could be sent home upon the arrival of a ship from their country.

In the tenth year (1183), seventy-three Japanese were driven by a storm to Hua-t'ing hsien in Hsiu-chou.<sup>102</sup> They



were given money and rice by the local governments.

In the fourth year of Shao-hsi (1193), both in T'ai-chou<sup>103</sup> and in Hua-t'ing hsien in Hsiu-chou, Japanese were again shipwrecked on the shore by storms. Order was given not to accept payment from them and that rice from the official granaries should be furnished them until they could be sent home.

In the sixth year of Ch'ing-yüan (1200), other Japanese shipwrecked men arrived at P'ing-chiang-fu.<sup>104</sup> In the second year of Chia-t'ai (1202), others arrived at Ting-hai hsien.<sup>105</sup> In both cases the Court ordered money and rice to be provided for them until they could be sent home.

#### NOTES

1. The Sung shih, or History of the Sung (960-1279), is assigned conventionally to a board of editors headed by T'ao-t'ao (1313-1355); actually the chief editor was Ou-yang Hsüan (1274 or 1275-1358); it was compiled during the years 1341-1345 and printed immediately after. It is a work of 496 chüan. The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is based on the editions of 1345 and 1480.
2. Chōnen. For biographies and travel diaries of Japanese who studied in China during this period and who appear in this account, see "Yūhō-den sōsho," (4 vols.) in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho (Tōkyō, 1912-1922), vols. 113-116, and "Genkō shakusho" by the Buddhist historian Shiren (1272-1346) in Kuroita Katsumi (editor), Kokushi taikēi (Tōkyō, 1935-1939), vol. 31. Where there are reliable English references they will be cited.
3. Record of Government Officials 職員令, probably a copy of the current administrative laws. There is no reference to the Chronicle of Kings 壬年代紀 in Japanese records (cf. Akiyama, Shina-jin no mitaru Nihon, p. 27), but this may have been a collective term for the early official chronicles.
4. Iatsura 伊勢連, error for muraji 連, an hereditary title given to clan-chieftains of the Shimbetsu, or Deity, clans as against Omi, the title given to descendants of the Imperial Family. Later, muraji was the seventh ranking title in the system of hereditary titles established by Temmu Tennō in 682.
5. Pai (or Po) Chü-i (772-846 or 847) is the well known poet and government official, whose poetry, valued even during his lifetime by the Japanese, has been much translated. Cf.



Arthur Waley (translator), A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems (New York, 1923, 2d edition), pp. 151-243, especially p. 169, and his The Life and Times of Po Chü-i, 772-846 A.D. (New York, 1949), p. 199. According to the bibliographical section of the Hsin T'ang shu (60:14a) his collected writings, entitled Po-shih ch'ang ch'ing chi 白氏長慶集, were contained in 75 chuan or rolls. By the time the Sung history was edited this had been reduced to 71 rolls. (See Sung shih 208:7a.)

6. Ch'ien Wên Ta Pao, in Japanese Kengen Taihō. Although this Japanese coin is illustrated in several standard Chinese works (cited by Arthur Braddan Coole, A Bibliography on Far Eastern Numismatics (Peking, 1940), p. 285, U 125), Mr. Wang Yu-ch'uan of the American Numismatic Society believes that the inscription recorded here is a mistake for Ch'ien yüan ta pao 乾元大寶, or Kengen Taihō, which was issued in 958 (letter of September 13, 1948, to the Editor). Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, in his recent Chinese encyclopaedia of old coins Ku-ch'ien ta-tz'ü-tien 古錢大辭典 (Shanghai, 1938), p. 315, appears to agree. This coin is illustrated in Neil Gordon Munro, Coins of Japan (Yokohama, 1904), pp. 22-23.
7. This statement may have its basis in Indian folklore rather than in fact. In the latter Heian Period (794-1185) tales and traditions about strange animals and birds were widely circulated, especially stories from India which came into Japan with Buddhism. Many of these tales have been preserved in the Konjaku Monogatari (compiled circa 1050), books VI-X, in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi taikei, vol. 16.
8. Chinese 中國, corrected from 國中, a copyist's error.
9. Enyū (reigned 969-984).
10. Rulers--deities. There is considerable confusion in the early chronicles on the names, genealogy, and number of deities. The Nihongi itself gives a number of variants to the current myths. That there was no uniformity or consistency to Japanese mythology is reflected in these accounts. Note, for example, the references to Hikonagi as the thirty-second ruler (p. 38) and also as the twenty-third ruler (p. 50).
11. Himuka, old name for Hyūga, Kyūshū.
12. King Hsi reigned from B.C. 681 to 677.
13. Kashii, place-name in Kyūshū where the Imperial palace was located. However, the Deity of Kashii is not Chūai but his consort, Jingō, whom orthodox accounts credit with the invasion of Korea in A.D. 200.
14. Ōjin (reigned 270-310).
15. Hachiman, God of War, supposedly personified in Ōjin. But the origins of Hachiman worship are obscure. Cf. D.C. Holtom,



The National Faith of Japan. A Study in Modern Shinto  
(London, 1938), pp. 173-174.

16. Takenouchi, or Takeuchi, who lived through five reigns, according to Japanese accounts. The first reference to him is in the Kojiki, vol. 2, section LXI.
17. Text should be corrected to 13th year of Kumei Tennō.
18. Prince Shōtoku (became Regent 593, died 621 or 622) who promoted Buddhism and learning in Japan. For a recent study of Shōtoku Taishi, see M. Anesaki, "The Foundation of Buddhist Culture in Japan. The Buddhist Ideals as conceived and carried out by the Prince-Regent Shōtoku," Monumenta Nipponica (Tōkyō), vol. VI, Semi-Annual no. 1-2 (1941), pp. 1-10; cf. his latest work: Prince Shōtoku, the Sage Statesman (Tokyo, 1948), 75 pp.
19. Bodaiji, Bodhi-vihāra, lit., "temple of or for enlightenment," a name commonly used for temples. Thus, no specific temple may have been intended. However, the Tachibana-dera, a temple founded in 606 and closely associated with the early life of Prince Shōtoku, was originally known as the Bodaiji. Cf. Fujimoto Kōzaburō (editor), Nihon shaji taikan (Kyōto, 1933), vol. 2, pp. 677-678.
20. 聖鬘經, ? error for 勝鬘經 Shêng-man-ching (Shōman-gyō in Japanese), the Śrīmālā Sūtra.
21. 曼陀羅華, lit., "Buddha flower"; hence, any flower which is small, round, and beautiful. More specifically, the lotus flower, or the Chōsen asagao (Datura alba nees). Cf. Heibon-sha (compiler), Dai-jiten (Tōkyō, 1934-1936), vol. 23, p. 579, and Makino Tomitarō, Nihon shoku-butsu zukan (Tōkyō, 1942), p. 154.
22. Cf. account in the Sui shu, p. 26 above. The Fa hua ching (Hok[k]e-kyō in Japanese) 法華經 is the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka sūtra, translated by Kumārajīva (344-413) into Chinese. See Hōbōgirin, fascicule annexe (Tokyo, 1931), No. 262.
23. Dōshō (628-700), accompanied the embassy of 653 to China, and upon his return in 660 (or 666, according to another version), he introduced the Fa-hsiang (Hossō in Japanese) School of Buddhism, which became the predominant teaching of this period. Cf. Junjirō Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy. Edited by W.T. Chan and Charles A. Moore. (Honolulu, 1947), pp. 84-85; or Masaharu Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion (London, 1930), pp. 81-82, 94-95.
24. Hsüan-tsang, 602-664. Cf. Thomas Watters, On Yüan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 A.D. Edited, after his death, by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell. 2 vols. (London, 1904 & 1905).
25. The Sūtras were discourses thought to have been delivered



- by Buddha; the Vinayas, works on asceticism and monastic discipline; and Śāstras, works on (Buddhist) philosophy. These three divisions form the Tripiṭaka or "Three treasures" of Buddhism.
26. Name of former Empress Kōgyoku who resumed the throne in 655 as Saimei.
  27. Chitsū introduced the Kōsa or Kusha School of Buddhism into Japan in 658. However, as this school is generally taught in connection with the Hossō doctrine, Chitsū's teachings are called the "second transmission" of the Hossō doctrine. Cf. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 69, 85; and Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, p. 94.
  28. Kōbun (reigned 671-672), omitted. Jitō 持統, erroneously given as 持統.
  29. Correct text from 3rd to 1st year of Taihō.
  30. The embassy of 701 which sailed from Japan in 702.
  31. Dōji is credited with the third transmission of the San-lun School of Buddhism to Japan in 701. Although this doctrine never developed as an independent sect, it has been widely studied in Japan until the present day. Cf. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 100.
  32. Abe, name of Gemmei Tennō (reigned 707-715). Kiye -- Empress Genshō (reigned 715-724), from her name Takamizu Kiye Tarashihime. Shōmu (reigned 724-749).
  33. Correct Hoki to Reiki.
  34. Gembō arrived in China in 717, the 5th year of K'ai-yüan in Chinese reckoning, with the embassy which was commissioned in 716. He returned in 735. His teaching of the Fa-hsiang doctrine, called the fourth transmission, is generally accepted as the orthodox line. Cf. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 63, 85.
  35. Kōmei, error for Kōken (reigned 749-758).
  36. Tempyō shōbō (749-756). This is the embassy of 750 which delayed its departure from Japan until 752. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 121.
  37. Ōi -- Junnin (reigned 758-764). Takano-hime, Empress Shōtoku (reigned 764-770) who reigned earlier as Empress Kōken.
  38. Shirakabe, name of Kōnin Tennō (reigned 770-781).
  39. There seems to be a break in the text and some confusion here. Ryōsen (or Reisen), Kūkai, and Saichō all arrived in China at the same time, in 804. Gyōga preceded them by over 50 years and was in China in the years 753-759, studying the Fa-hsiang and T'ien-t'ai doctrines. He died in 803, the year the others left Japan. It may be that because of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, which broke out in



- 755, the Chinese records of Gyōga's visit were not kept in as good order as before and after. Ryōsen arrived in China in 804 and remained there until his death, some time prior to 828. After 810 he was engaged in the translation of the Tripitaka. For an account, see "Yūhō-den sōsho," vol. 1, in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, vol. 113, and "Gyōga shakusho" in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi taikēi, vol. 31. or Gyōga see "Honchō kōso-den," vol. 4, in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, vol. 102.
40. Wu-t'ai shan, a mountain situated in Shansi province, famous in Chinese Buddhist history.
  41. Kammu (reigned 781-809).
  42. Fujiwara Kadonomaro, who headed the embassy of 801. For references on his life and mission, cf. Tokugawa Mitsunobu and others (editor), Dai Nihon-shi, vol. 5, pp. 82, 194.
  43. Kūkai (774-835) and [Saichō] (767-822), better known by their canonized titles of Kōbō Daishi and Dengyō Daishi respectively. For a discussion of their lives and works cf. Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, pp. 111-133. These two and six other prominent Japanese monks who introduced esoteric doctrines from China are known collectively as "Nittō-Hakke" 入唐八家. Their works and biographies may be found in the "Yūhō-den sōsho," cited above in note 39.
  44. T'ien-t'ai, another sacred mountain, located in Chekiang.
  45. 正觀義, correct to 止觀義 Chih-kuan-i; cf. Hōbōgirin, fascicule annexe, No. 1911. 智者, i.e. Chih-i (or Chih-k'ai, 538-597).
  46. Nara, name of Heizei Tennō (reigned 806-809). Saga (reigned 809-823). Junnin, error for Junna (reigned 823-833).
  47. Nimmyō (reigned 833-850).
  48. Montoku (reigned 850-855).
  49. Seiwa (reigned 858-876). Yōzei (reigned 876-884). Kōkō (reigned 884-887).
  50. Soei, or Shuei (804-884), one of the so-called "Nittō-Hakke." Cf. note 43 above.
  51. Ninna, Uda Tennō (reigned 887-897), from the era-name Ninna (885-888).
  52. Kanken left for China in 927 taking with him several volumes of poems to present to the Chinese Emperor. Cf. "Fusō ryakki" under date of Encho 4, 4th month (926), in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi taikēi, vol. 12, p. 197.
  53. Daigo (reigned 897-930). Tenkei, Sujaku Tennō (reigned 930-946), from the era-name Tenkei (938-946). Murakami (reigned 946-967).



4. Keizei (reigned 967-969).
5. Kori-hira, name of Enyū Tennō (reigned 969-984).
6. Shimōsa, the fifteenth province of the Eastern Sea Circuit, has been omitted in this list. Shimōsa was made a province as early as the Taika Period (645-646) when the old province of Fusa-no-kuni (葦原國) was divided into Fusa and Shimotsu-fusa, names which have since become Katsuragi and Shimōsa respectively. Furthermore, since 771, when Iwatsuki Province, which formerly belonged to the Eastern Mountain Circuit, was officially included in the Eastern Sea Circuit, the number of provinces in the latter Circuit has been fifteen. Cf. Sawada Hisao (compiler), *Fihon Sai-jiten* (Tōkyō, 1939), vol. 5, p. 4121; also vol. 4, pp. 3270-3271.
7. 丹波江, error for Ōmi 近江. Other errors in the list of geographical names which follows have been corrected and their proper readings given. These errors are 丹波 for Tango 丹波; 但馬 for Tajima 但馬; 隱岐 for Ōki 隱岐; 播磨 for Harima 播磨; 美竹 for Mimasaku 美作; 伊予 for Ii 紀伊; 河波 for Awa 阿波; 讃耆 for Sanuki 讃岐.
8. Mabito, Awada Mabito of the embassy of 701.
9. The embassy of 716.
10. The embassy appointed in 750 which sailed from Japan in 753.
11. The embassy of 801.
12. The embassy appointed in 834 which embarked in 838.
13. There are two histories of the Five Dynasties (907-960), "Old" and "New": Chiu Wu Tai shih and Hsin Wu Tai shih. The first was a work of 152 chüan edited by Hsieh Chū-chêng (912-931) in 973-974. It was discarded in 1207, due to the opposition of the Chin court in north China; so presumably the work referred to is the second. This like the T'ang shu, was compiled by a board headed by Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), and was ordered placed in the archives in 1077. It is a work of 74 chüan. Cf. Edouard Chavannes, "Le royaume de Wou et de Yue 吳越," T'oung Pao (Leiden), [New Series], livre XVII, (1916), pp. 133-138.
14. The embassy of 669.
15. The embassy of 732 which sailed from Waniwa in the following year. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 123.
16. The embassy of 775 which sailed from Kyūshū in 777. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 1, p. 125.
17. Probably the embassy of 778 under Fuse Kiyonao, whose name is erroneously given as Kadono in the T'ang shu.
18. T'ai Tsung, temple name of Chao Huang (939-997), second emperor of the Sung dynasty, who succeeded his brother in



976. Cf. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 150.
69. Purple robe. The practice of the Court recognizing distinguished men of the Church by the presentation of a purple robe began with Empress Wu in 639 when she made such a presentation to nine monks for their translation of the Lotus Sutra 大藏經. In Japan the practice did not begin until 1249 when the Retired Sovereign Gosaga honored the monk Dōgen with a purple garment. Cf. Heibon-sha (compiler), Dai-jiten, vol. 12, p. 454.
70. T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo temple, presumably the one constructed in the years 976-984, one li east of Yü-shih hsien, in the prefecture of K'ai-fêng, then the Sung capital. See K'ai-fêng fu chih 開封府志 (edition of 1695, revised 1863) 18:155, and Alexander C. Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssü, an Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven, Conn.), vol. 68, no. 1 (January-March, 1948), p. 24. It was later destroyed.
71. The Hsiao ching, or Book of Filial Piety, translated by James Legge in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. III (Oxford, 1879).
72. The Hsiao ching hsin-i was a work of ten chüan compiled, according to both Old and New Histories of the T'ang (46:18a and 57:13b), by Jên Hsi-ku (flourished 650), who for a time was libationer in the western palace of Prince Yüeh. His name is written in various ways. The Hsin T'ang shu 195:5b makes his ming Ching-ch'ên 敬臣 and his tzü Hsi-ku.
73. Chên, presumably Chên Hsüan (127-200), a commentator on the Confucian classics of great prestige.  
Prince Chên of Yüeh was the 8th of 14 sons of the second T'ang emperor. See Hsin T'ang shu 70B:11b and 22b; 80:11b-13b.
74. The Tripitaka, consisting of 1521 separate works, was first printed in the years 971-983 in 5048 volumes in the province of Szechuan. Cf. Paul Demiéville, "Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha," Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi), tome XXIV (1924), p. 182, note 2.
75. Correct Bunyiu Nanjio (compiler), A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka (Oxford, 1883; reprinted Tokyo, 1929), "Introduction," p. xxv, who makes the date 987. This error has slipped into other books, such as Thomas Francis Carter, The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward (New York, 1925), p. 63.
76. Ning-hai, T'ai-chou is in modern Chekiang. This bears out Edwin O. Reischauer's statement that "in the Northern Sung period intercourse between Japan and China seems to have been carried on primarily by Chinese traders from" ports south of the Yangtze. (Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 5, no. 2 (June, 1940), p. 164, note 64.)



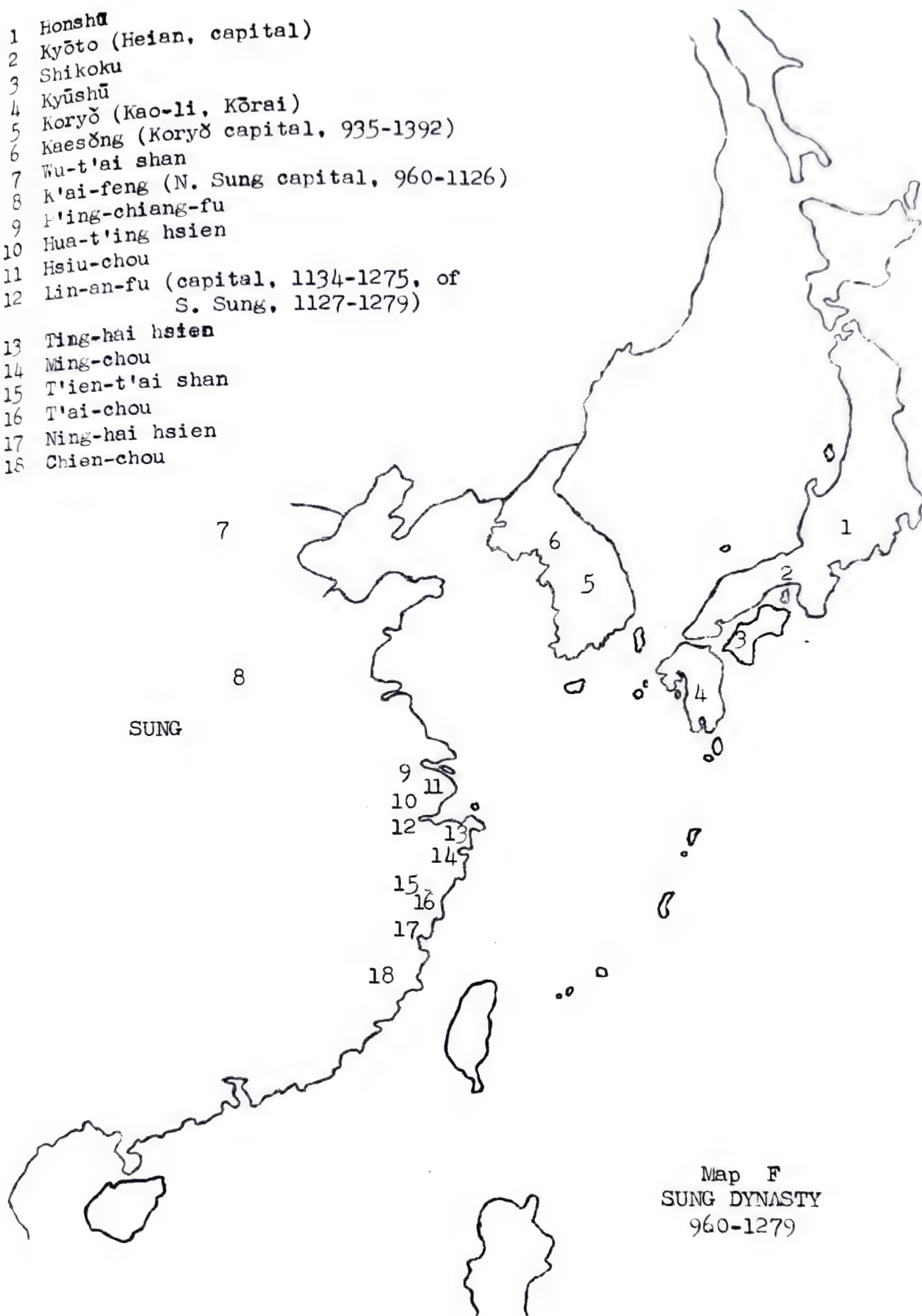
77. Kiin 喜因, error for Kain 喜因, details of whose mission in behalf of Chōnen may be found in the "Fusō ryakki" under date of Eien 2, 2nd month, 8th day (968), in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi taikēi, vol. 12, p. 258.
78. wa chi ta shih 法濟大師, Master of Law and Salvation.
79. The myth of tradition alluded to here is obscure.
80. San Tsang, Tripitaka.
81. The Wu Yüeh 五嶽 are the five peaks of pre-Buddhist lore: T'ai-shan (in Shantung), Hêng-shan (Hunan), Hua-shan (Shensi), Hêng-shan (Hopei), and Sung-shan (Honan).
82. Sokan accompanied Kain in connection with Chōnen's mission. Cf. note 77 above.
83. Tō Sari 藤佐理, Fujiwara-no-Sukemasa 藤原佐理 (944-998), a state councillor renowned for his calligraphy. Cf. Heibonsha (compiler), Shinsen dai-jimmei jiten (Tōkyō, 1937-1941), vol. 5, pp. 376-377.
84. This reference to folding fans may be the first in Chinese literature. The folding fan was probably invented by the Japanese in the 9th and 10th centuries, and passed thence to Korea and China.
85. 1 hiki was somewhere between 52 and 56 feet.
86. 700 catties 斤 of sulphur. One can only surmise the possible use of this sulphur. The Chinese had long been familiar with it (since the first century before our era or earlier, according to Wang Ling, "Invention and use of gunpowder and firearms in China," Isis (Cambridge, Mass.), vol. 37 (July, 1947), p. 160) and came to utilize it by Northern Sung times in the manufacture of fire-crackers, fireworks, and explosive weapons. Cf. Wang Ling, ibid., pp. 161-162; also L.C. Goodrich and C.S. Fêng, "The early development of firearms in China," Isis, vol. 37 (July, 1947), pp. 114-115.
87. Chien-chou, in the Foochow area, Fukien.
88. Jaku Shō 寂昭 remained in China for more than 30 years. Cf. "Genkō shakusho," chapter 16, in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi taikēi, vol. 31.
89. 圓通大師, Master of Perfection and Universality.
90. Ming-chou or modern Ning-po, Chekiang, one of the main ports for commerce with Japan in this era. Cf. Edwin O. Reischauer, "Notes on T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 5, no. 2 (June, 1940), pp. 142-164.
91. The Dazaifu -- government outpost located in Tsukushi, northern Kyūshū, which dealt with foreign affairs and national defense. The town was also called Dazaifu.



92. Jōjun 成尊 (1011-1081) was the son of Fujiwara-no-Sakenari, mentioned above. A disciple of the renowned Genchin, he is remembered for taking to China a copy of the latter's book, Jiō Yōsū. Cf. "Genkō shakusho," chapter 16, in Genkō (editor), Kokushi taikō, vol. 31, and Soper in Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 68, no. 1 (January-March, 1948), pp. 23-26.
93. Kuo-ch'ing ssū, a temple 10 li north of T'ien-t'ai, originally constructed in 598 by the founder of the T'ien-t'ai sect, Chih-i (or Chih-k'ai, 538-597).
94. Shên Tsung, temple name of Chao Hsü (1048-1085), who reigned from 1068 to 1085.
95. 開寶寺, another temple in K'ai-fêng; cf. Soper, ibid., p. 23.
96. Chūkai. Little is known about Chūkai and other monks in the foreign service whose chief function was that of a scribe or an interpreter.
97. 慕化懷德大師, The Great Master Who Loves Civilization and Cherishes Virtue.
98. Or ounces.
99. 綱首, Head of a Buddhist order. May be translated Superintendent or Commissioner.
100. Lin-an-fu, i.e., Hangchow, capital of the Southern Sung.
101. Or dry pint.
102. Hsiu-chou and Hua-t'ing hsien at this time were part of the prefecture of Chia-hsing, modern Chekiang. Cf. Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien (Shanghai, 1930), pp. 411, 935.
103. T'ai-chou is in Chekiang.
104. P'ing-chiang-fu, then a prefecture in what is now Kiangsu.
105. Ting-hai hsien, in modern Chekiang.



- 1 Honshū
- 2 Kyōto (Heian, capital)
- 3 Shikoku
- 4 Kyūshū
- 5 Koryō (Kao-li, Kōrai)
- 6 Kaesŏng (Koryō capital, 935-1392)
- 7 Wu-t'ai shan
- 8 K'ai-feng (N. Sung capital, 960-1126)
- 9 P'ing-chiang-fu
- 10 Hua-t'ing hsien
- 11 Hsiu-chou
- 12 Lin-an-fu (capital, 1134-1275, of  
S. Sung, 1127-1279)
- 13 Ting-hai hsien
- 14 Ming-chou
- 15 T'ien-t'ai shan
- 16 T'ai-chou
- 17 Ning-hai hsien
- 18 Chien-chou



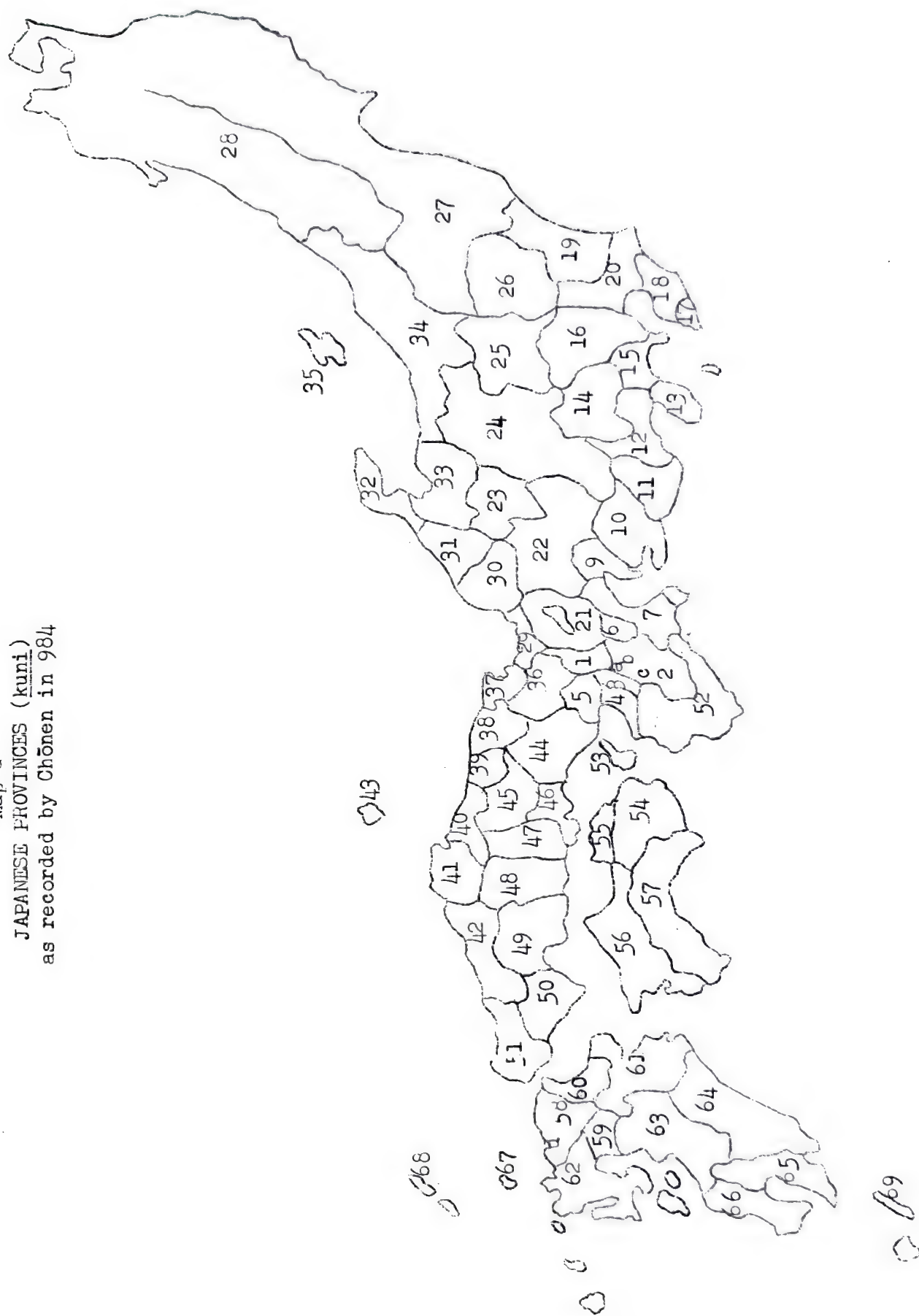
Map F  
SUNG DYNASTY  
960-1279





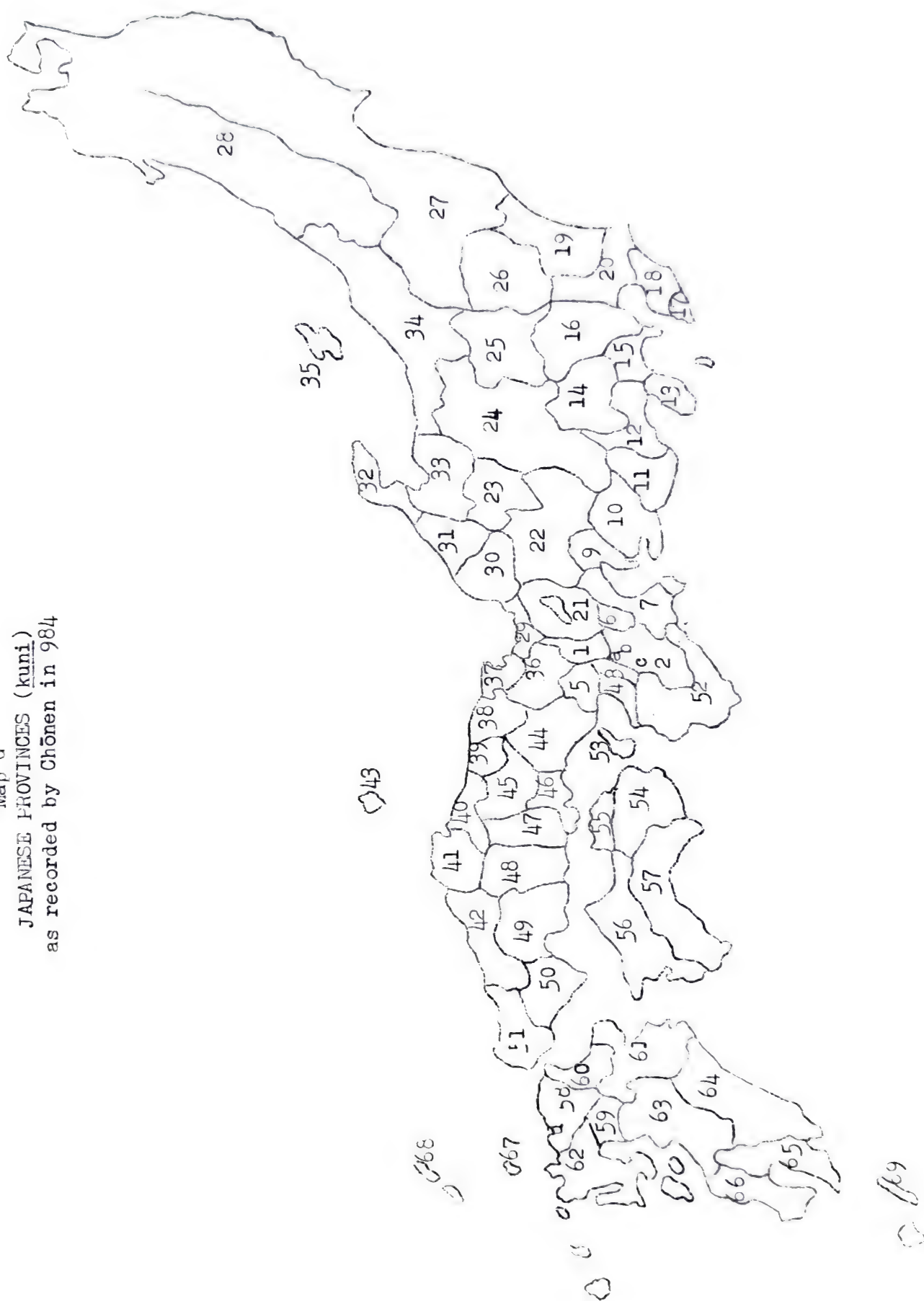


Map G  
JAPANESE PROVINCES (kuni)  
as recorded by Chōnen in 984





Map G  
JAPANESE PROVINCES (kuni)  
as recorded by Chōnen in 984





NEW HISTORY OF THE YÜAN DYNASTY  
(Hsin Yüan Shih 250)<sup>1</sup>

Foreign Countries: Japan

Japan is an insular kingdom. Her story prior to the Sung dynasty is included in the history of each dynasty.

In the first year of Chung-t'ung (1260), Shih-tsu<sup>2</sup> installed Chōn,<sup>3</sup> heir-apparent of Korea, as King of Korea and sent him home to his country. He made up his mind at the same time to open up communications with Japan with Korea as intermediary. The ruler of Japan was then Kameyama Tenna<sup>4</sup> and the era was called Bun-ō.<sup>5</sup>

In the autumn of the third year of Chih-yüan (1266), in the eighth month, Shih-tsu made selection of an embassy to be dispatched to Japan. Hei-ti, Vice-Minister of the Department of War, was decorated with the tiger emblem<sup>6</sup> and appointed as Plenipotentiary. Yin Hung, Vice-Minister of the Department of Ceremony, was decorated with the gold emblem and appointed as Vice-Plenipotentiary. A brief message was also sent to the King of Korea, which read: "Recently your countryman, Cho I,<sup>7</sup> came to the Court and said to us: 'Japan is your neighbor and her institutions and administration are praiseworthy. Since the Han and T'ang dynasties, moreover, she has sent envoys to our country.' We are therefore dispatching Hei-ti and others to visit Japan in order to establish amity. We desire Your Highness to show them the way to reach there, in order that they may enter the land and enlighten the people so that they will come and pay homage to us. The entire responsibility for this matter we wish Your Highness to take as your own. Do not make the risks and dangers of the stormy ocean a pretext for excusing yourself. Do not give lack of relationship with Japan as an explanation [for shunning this duty]. There is a chance [to be sure] that [Japan] may not be amenable to our demands



and may force the embassy to return home. Therefore we are depending on your loyalty and devotion. We beg Your Highness to do your utmost."

King Sik<sup>8</sup> of Korea thereupon sent Song Kun-bi,<sup>9</sup> Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council, and Kim Ch'an,<sup>10</sup> Vice-Minister of the Department of Ceremony, to act as guides to Hei-ti and his embassy.

In the spring of the fourth year, in the first month (January 27 - February 25, 1267), the party reached the coast of Songbyŏn-p'o, in the prefecture [hyŏn] of Kōje in Korea. [But] dismayed by the roughness of the sea, they retraced their way.

King Sik then sent Song Kun-bi as emissary to the Chinese Court, accompanying Hei-ti, with a memorial which read: "In accordance with the Imperial rescript regarding the embassy which was on its way to go to establish amity with Japan, your humble subject respectfully dispatched his subject, Song Kun-bi, to accompany the embassy. They went as far as Kōje prefecture and had a distant glimpse of Tsushima [Island].<sup>11</sup> [But] when they saw a myriad li of ocean and the wind and waves raging sky high, they thought that the danger was such that it was not proper to let the embassy from Your Majesty's country proceed rashly and incur this risk. Even if they had reached Tsushima, [they would have found that] the people there are obdurate and tough, with no sense of propriety or order. If these men should become unruly, what could be done? Japan, besides, has no established relations with your subject's country [of Korea]. Sometimes the Tsushima islanders have visited Kim-chu<sup>12</sup> but only for trade and nothing more. Since the inauguration of Your Majesty, your subject's country has been under profound obligations to you, and the fact that after thirty years of warfare this country is still surviving and enjoying a brief peace, is due to your august benevolence, which is indeed great as the sky. I have made a vow, therefore, to do whatever I can on Your behalf. Heaven forbid that a situation should arise in



which I should fail to do all in my power."

Shih-tsu was displeased with King Sik for offering such an excuse. In the eighth month, he sent Hei-ti again with a message for King Sik, which read: "Some time ago, when we tried to invite Japan by dispatching an embassy, we requested Your Highness to furnish a guide and never expected you to let [the embassy] return home without results. We think that in case Japan establishes amity [with China], it is inevitable that the real state of things will be known. Therefore you contrived other excuses. In the capital, however, there are not a few of your countrymen, and Your Highness's contrivance was flimsy indeed. Besides, Heaven is difficult to deceive, and humanity treasures sincerity. Your Highness has failed to keep your word a number of times. We recommend that you reflect well. As to the Japanese matter, we shall leave it entirely in your hands, and we desire Your Highness to abide by our wishes and convey our message to Japan, resting only when the end is attained without mishap." King Sik was still hesitant.

Yi Chang-yong,<sup>13</sup> a Korean official, addressed a letter to Hei-ti, requesting him to give him time to find out whether Japan would eventually come or not. In case she came, [he said], she would be advised to give consent; if not, she would simply be classed as an outcast [nation]. The wording [of this letter] was exceedingly familiar. [Besides], when Chang-yong wrote the letter to the envoy, he had not discussed it in advance with the King. The latter became suspicious of Chang-yong's allegiance and sentenced him to exile. The Court attendant, Pan Pu,<sup>14</sup> who was in charge of guests, was also sentenced to exile for withholding information. [It happened that] while Pu was conversing with Hei-ti, armed men made abrupt entrance to arrest Pu. Hei-ti was irate and upbraided them, demanding the reason. When informed of the reason, he handed over Chang-yong's letter, adding that he would return to the Court and report the matter. He said: "If His Majesty listens to what I



shall report to him, it will be fortunate for everybody in the world; but even if he does not, your country may not be punished either." Thereupon Chang-yong and Pu were both pardoned.

King Sik was thus compelled to dispatch Pan Pu to visit Japan and carry a sealed message from Shih-tsu. He also sent his own message to the ruler of Japan, which read: "My country has served the great Mongol Empire as her subject state and received her official calendar for a number of years. The Sovereign, benevolent and intelligent, regards the entire world as a single family; everyone under the sun and moon therefore admires his virtues. He now desires to establish amity with your country and has given me a rescript saying that I should not make the danger of the stormy sea the pretext for excusing myself. The purport [of his message] is stringent and imperative and I am therefore obliged to dispatch my Court attendant, Pan Pu, to carry the Sovereign's message and visit your country. Your country has established amity with the Middle Empire in all former dynasties without exception. Now the reason why the Sovereign wants to establish amity with your country is not a desire for offerings and tribute, but rather perhaps a desire to be known throughout the world as one whose rule is all-embracing. If he should receive a delegation of amity from your country, he would certainly welcome it cordially. Are you not willing therefore to send an envoy to visit the Court? It would indeed be a great favor if your country would grant kind consideration [of this matter]."

At this time the government of Japan was under the Shōgun Koreyasu,<sup>15</sup> who was a minor installed in office through the support of Hōjō Tokimune,<sup>16</sup> Governor of Sagami. The actual political power was held, therefore, by Tokimune, who deemed the message much too impolite to make reply. So the reply was kept from being sent.

Korea then sent Chang-yong to visit the Court. The Emperor said to Chang-yong: "We regard your country as our



family; when your country has had difficulties, we have never failed to send help. In case, therefore, that we should plan a campaign against an intransigent country, it would be well for your country to send an army to help make war. It would be well for you to build one thousand fighting craft large enough to carry three or four thousand shih of rice.<sup>17</sup> From your country to southern China, when the wind is favorable, two or three days are sufficient: to reach Japan, set out in the morning and arrive in the evening: that is what your countryman said in his conversation with the Southerner. Now return home and tell your King what we have told you."

In the autumn in the seventh month, Korea sent Pan Pu to visit the Court with a memorial which read: "A rescript was given me some time ago ordering me to convey your message to Japan. Your subject, therefore, sent his subject, Pan Pu, who carried with him Your Majesty's sealed message, as well as your subject's message, and also a gift from this country. Pu went over [to Japan] but the border official would not let him pass and held him in the remote post of the Dazaifu for nearly five months. His treatment there was extremely poor. Your message was forwarded but no written reply was received, so that he returned without attaining his end. Thus your divine will still remains unfulfilled, for which reason I feel profoundly guilty."

In the ninth month, the Emperor again dispatched Hei-ti and Yin Hung to Japan with a sealed message and ordered the Koreans to act as guides.

In the spring of the sixth year (1269), in the third month, Hei-ti's party reached Tsushima, but the islanders resisted them. Hei-ti became irate, and in the ensuing combat Tōjirō and Yashirō,<sup>18</sup> two islanders, were taken captive to be carried back to China.

In the fourth month, Hei-ti and Yin Hung returned to the Court to report and presented the two captives, to the great delight of the Emperor. The latter said to Tōjirō and the



others: "Your country has paid homage to the Middle Kingdom from early days. Now we desire to have your King at this Court. We do not mean to coerce you; we wish only to bequeath our name to posterity." The party was handsomely treated and was granted very generous gifts.

In the sixth month, the Emperor gave an order to Korea to escort Tōjirō and Yashirō home. He also ordered the Central Department to notify Japan in writing. The Japanese, however, did not reply.

In the twelfth month of the seventh year,<sup>19</sup> the Emperor was to select a Court official to be sent to Japan as ambassador. The military administrator in Shensi, Chao Liang-pi,<sup>20</sup> asked to go. Liang-pi was given the title of Secretary-General to act as ambassador. Three thousand soldiers were assigned to act as his guard, but he declined them and set out accompanied only by twenty-four scribes.

In the ninth month of the eighth year (1271), Liang-pi, accompanied by Sō Ch'ōng-gal,<sup>21</sup> a Korean interpreter with rank of commandant, reached Imatsu<sup>22</sup> in Chikuzen, Japan. Port officials wanted to attack them. Liang-pi, however, leaving the ship, went ashore and told them of his mission. Thereupon Liang-pi was taken to a wooden hut and held there under strict armed guard. The following day, Fujiwara Tamasuke,<sup>23</sup> Governor of Shikuzen, came at the head of a band of soldiers. He accused and reprimanded [Liang-pi] and kept demanding his credentials. Liang-pi said: "My credentials should be presented at the ruler's Court. If that is not feasible, then they will be handed over to the Shōgun. Otherwise, I shall not give them up."

After several days, Tamasuke again visited Liang-pi and said: "Since olden times in my country, no foreign ambassador has ever been farther east than the Dazaifu. Now your country sends out an ambassador to come here; but if you do not give up the credentials, how can anyone believe you?"



Liang-pi replied: "Wên Ti of the Sui dynasty dispatched P'ei Ch'ing to go to Japan and the ruler<sup>24</sup> came out of the capital to extend welcome. T'ai Tsung of the Tang dynasty, as well as Kao Tsung, sent envoys, and they all had audiences with the ruler. Then why is it that the ambassador from the [present] Court in my country is not to be given an audience?" He took out a duplicate of the credentials and handed that over. The Japanese still refused to answer but gave an order to the Dazaifu to escort Liang-pi and his embassy over to Tsushima.

Liang-pi, having been thus refused, had nothing to report to the Court. Now the chief guard officer of the Dazaifu was afraid that discord with the Middle Kingdom might arise and that armed conflict might be difficult to stop in the future. Unofficially, therefore, he made an agreement with Liang-pi and sent Yashirō and twelve others under the false title of emissaries. Accompanied by the secretary Chang To,<sup>25</sup> they paid a visit to the Court. The Emperor granted them an interview and expressed his appreciation by giving a banquet. Chang then made a statement as follows: "Liang-pi sent me here to say that in the ninth month of last year, he reached the west guard post of the Dazaifu, together with Yashirō and others. The guard officials spoke to him thus: 'We have been deceived by Korea, who has told us often that China would come to conquer Japan. How can we know that [your] sovereign loves life and hates murder? His Majesty the Emperor has sent this emissary to give us a sealed message, but the ruler's capital is far, far away. We think we should, therefore, dispatch men to accompany the envoy home.' Liang-pi, therefore, has sent your subject with Yashirō and others to come to the capital."

The Emperor, however, became suspicious that this was a falsehood and gave instructions to the Hanlin scholar and imperial attendant, Ho-li huo-sun,<sup>26</sup> to consult Yao Shu<sup>27</sup> and Hsü Hêng<sup>28</sup> about it. They both answered as follows: "It looks just as Your Majesty has surmised -- they are afraid we may



start war and so they have sent these people to spy on our strength. The proper thing to do **is** to show tolerance and generosity but at the same time **not** to give permission for an audience." The Emperor followed this advice.

In the third month of the tenth year (1273),<sup>2)</sup> Chao Liang-pi again went to the Dazaifu and again met refusal from the Japanese. In the sixth month,<sup>30</sup> he returned home. The Emperor asked him for a full account and Liang-pi said: "Your subject visited the Dazaifu a number of times and reprimanded the Japanese for their impoliteness, admonishing them in regard to a correct sense of propriety. The official of the Dazaifu, somewhat ashamed, asked for the credentials. Your subject told him that they could only be submitted in the presence of the ruler. [The Japanese] went away and came back four times, even going so far as to threaten your subject at the point of arms. Still we did not give them the credentials, but showed them instead a duplicate. Later they announced that the Shōgun was coming at the head of a force of one hundred thousand to demand the letter. [Then] your subject said: 'As long as I do not see the ruler of the country, even if you take my head, you will be unable to get the letter.' The Japanese realized that your subject could not be intimidated and they therefore sent those twelve men to the Court to pay homage." The Emperor replied: "You are the only one who has not disgraced the Imperial commission." [Then] Liang-pi made and presented to the Court a full record of Japan, of her ruler and of the ruled, of ranks, titles, provinces and counties, clans and families, customs and manners, and also products.

The Emperor then asked [Liang-pi] to carry out a war of conquest. In a written memorial, Liang-pi said, in effect, that useful people should not be sacrificed to fill the limitless valleys [of Japan with their corpses], and he implored [the Emperor] not to attack. The Emperor did not follow [his advice].



In the first month of the eleventh year (1274), the ruler of Japan, Kameyama Tennō, enthroned the Crown Prince, who was then called Gouda Tennō.<sup>31</sup> This new era was called Kenji (1275-1277).

In the third month, the Emperor put Hsin-tu,<sup>32</sup> Governor-General of Fêng-chou, and Hong Ta-gu,<sup>33</sup> Commander-in-Chief of the Korean army and civilians, at the head of the army of occupation and also at the head of the Ju-chen army and of the navy -- in all an expeditionary force fifteen thousand strong with nine hundred fighting craft. The seventh month was set as the time for the invasion of Japan. Korea, also, was ordered to send a force sixteen hundred strong.

In the eighth month, Marshal Hu-tun,<sup>34</sup> Right-Second-Marshal Hong Ta-gu, and Left-Second-Marshal Liu Fu-hsiang<sup>35</sup> arrived in Korea. Korea put Commander-General Kim Pang-gyong<sup>36</sup> at the head of three cooperating armies, altogether eight thousand strong; and [the Koreans], together with Hu-tun and the others, proceeded by way of Happ'o<sup>37</sup> to attack Tsushima Island.<sup>38</sup>

Sō Sukekuni,<sup>39</sup> Japanese provincial commander, went to defend the island at the head of a force of eight thousand horsemen. He sent an interpreter to visit the fleet and ask the reason for its coming. Without giving any answer, Hu-tun landed his army and advanced on the Japanese. Sukekuni fell in the battle. Hu-tun then turned to attack the island of Iki.<sup>40</sup> He landed on the beach and planted a crimson flag. The Japanese commandant Taira Tsunetaka<sup>41</sup> was routed. Hastening into his castle, he defended himself, but the following day the castle fell, and Tsunetaka was killed. Thus Hu-tun's forces defeated three islands<sup>42</sup> one after the other, ruthlessly murdering and slaughtering. When they captured women, they pierced the centers of their palms with wires and tied them [thus] to the sides of the ships. The Japanese were horrified and mobilized their feudal warriors, one hundred and two thousand strong, to go to the rescue. Hu-tun fought with the Japanese at Hakata.<sup>43</sup>



Occupying the heights, his generals gave command by beating drums and the troops advanced or retreated according to the beat of the drums. When the enemy had moved into the pre-arranged positions, the invaders attacked from all sides. They also used firearms and [thus] slaughtered the enemy forces in countless numbers. Thus the Japanese were put to rout and Hu-tun's forces advanced as far as Imatsu. His lieutenants fought with the Japanese Commandant, Kikuchi Yasunari,<sup>44</sup> at Akasaka;<sup>45</sup> they also fought with Shōni Kakue<sup>46</sup> at Hyakudōgahara and defeated him as well. Kakue's son, Kagesuke, adept in horsemanship and archery, shot Liu Fu-hsiang from his horse. Hu-tun and the others arrayed their armies alongside a pine forest. The Japanese Commandant, Ōsaka Yoriyasu,<sup>47</sup> put up resistance, only to be defeated also. As dusk set in, the [invading] generals one after the other boarded their ships.

[Now] Kim Pang-gyong remonstrated with Hu-tun and Hong Ta-gu, saying: "Our forces are small in number, it is true, but they are already on the enemy's land. They are battle-minded now. Our position is the same as that of Mêng-ming,<sup>48</sup> who burned his ships, or of Huai-yin,<sup>49</sup> who fought with the water at his back. Let us therefore fight it out."

Hu-tun replied, saying: "They say that if one puts up a strong fight with a small force, one ends in being captured by the large force. To drive on fatigued troops into the enemy's ground is not safe tactics. It is better to draw back our forces."

Liu Fu-hsiang's wound was serious, so that he withdrew the forces under his command before the others did, and he returned to his ship. That night there was a great storm and our fighting craft were dashed against the rocks and destroyed in great numbers. Hu-tun's forces thereupon went away under cover of darkness.

In the second month of the twelfth year (1275), the Emperor appointed Tu Shih-chung, Vice-Minister of Ceremony, Ho Wên-chu,



Counsellor of the Department of War, and Sa-tu-lu-ting, Counsellor-at-large, to carry a sealed message to Japan with the object of establishing amity. The Korean Field-general, Sŏ Ch'an, and naval engineering officers, altogether thirty in number, went as guides.

In the fourth month, Tu Shih-chung's embassy arrived at Murotsu in Nagato. It then moved on to the Dazaifu in Chikuzen.

In the eighth month, the Dazaifu escorted Tu Shih-chung's party to Kamakura<sup>50</sup> under armed guard. In the ninth month, Hōjō Tokimune beheaded Tu Shih-chung, Ho Wên-chu, and Sa-tu-lu-ting at Tatsunokuchi,<sup>51</sup> as well as secretary Tung Wei<sup>52</sup> and the Korean Sŏ Ch'an, and exposed their heads to the public.

In the fourteenth year (1277), Japan sent merchants with gold to exchange for copper and iron. They were permitted to do so. It was on this occasion that the Japanese learned for the first time of the downfall of the Sung Dynasty.<sup>53</sup>

In the seventh month of the fifteenth year (1278), Ch'un (?),<sup>54</sup> King of Korea, paid a visit to the Court and made a personal representation to the Emperor, saying: "The Japanese are only insular barbarians. Because of the rugged character [of their country], they have remained obdurate and dared to resist the Imperial forces. May I ask your permission, therefore, to build ships to carry provisions and to make open declaration of war?" The Emperor said in reply: "Your Highness may return home and consult with your Premier. Deliberate on plans with him before you send your forces to attack."

In the eleventh month, the East Coast Office of Reconciliation was created at Yang-chou<sup>55</sup> and instructions were given to officials on the seacoast to establish contact with Japanese merchant vessels.

In the sixth month of the sixteenth year (1279), Chou Fu and Luan Chung, agents sent by Fan Wên-hu,<sup>56</sup> the Sung general who had surrendered, and by Hsia Kuei,<sup>57</sup> together with Ryōka,



a Japanese monk, and Ch'ên Kuang, an interpreter, visited Japan with a letter. [These men] were all beheaded by the Japanese at Hakata.<sup>58</sup>

In the seventh month, a former subject of the Sung Court wrote to inform Japan as follows: "The Sung dynasty has met its downfall at the hands of the Mongols. There is a chance that this danger may come to Japan, and we have therefore taken the risk of informing you."

In the second month of the seventeenth year (1280), the Emperor was told for the first time that the Japanese had killed the delegates. Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu requested that they themselves go as heads of an expedition. The Emperor told them to proceed slowly for the time being.

In the eighth month, the King of Korea came to the Court and asked that he might reinforce the eastern expeditionary force with the Korean garrison then stationed at Tara.<sup>59</sup> The Emperor gave permission. [Now] by this time Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu had both been consulted by the Emperor about the plan of campaign. Ta-gu said: "If I, your subject, should not be able to finish off Japan, how could I face Your Majesty again?" Then it was agreed that Hong Ta-gu and Hsin-tu should head forces consisting of Mongols, Koreans, and Chinese, forty thousand strong, and should leave from Happ'o; meanwhile, Fan Wên-hu, at the head of the southern army one hundred thousand strong, should start out from Kiang-nan.<sup>60</sup> They would all meet on the island of Iki and with united forces would go straight to the Japanese headquarters. Then victory would be certain.

The Emperor, thereupon, made A-la-han<sup>61</sup> Minister of the Left, and Fan Wên-hu, Hsin-tu, and Hong Ta-gu Ministers of the Right of the expeditionary forces. Li T'ing<sup>62</sup> and Chang Pa-tu<sup>63</sup> he made administrative counsellor and secretary respectively.

In the ninth month, Ye-su-ta-erh<sup>64</sup> and Ts'ui Jên-chu were dispatched to move to Tung-yǒng-pu<sup>65</sup> the soldiers stationed at



K'ai-yüan,<sup>66</sup> Pei-ching,<sup>67</sup> and Liao-yang,<sup>68</sup> so that they might take part in the Japanese campaign.

In the tenth month, a commissioner was sent to recruit three thousand soldiers at K'ai-yüan and elsewhere. On his way, he obtained one hundred thousand volunteers. Fan Wên-hu was placed in command of this force.

In the twelfth month, Ch'un, King of Korea, was promoted to the rank of State Chancellor and Minister of the Left of the expeditionary force, in charge of the expedition; Kim Pang-gyong<sup>69</sup> was made Commander-in-chief of the Korean forces and Pak Ku<sup>69</sup> and Kim Chu-chyöng<sup>70</sup> general and assistant commander-in-chief respectively. Both the latter were given the tiger emblem. Cho In-gyu,<sup>71</sup> also, was made general and administrator of the capital and decorated with the golden emblem. In addition, Pak Chi-yang<sup>72</sup> and nine others were appointed generals of divisions of one thousand, with the golden emblem; Cho Pyön<sup>73</sup> and nine others were made commanders of brigades; and Kim Chung-ssöng<sup>74</sup> and nineteen others were made commanders of regiments.

In the spring, in the first month of the eighteenth year (1281), the Emperor summoned A-la-han and others to give them personal instructions. Chang Kuei<sup>75</sup> and Li T'ing were left behind. Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu were ordered to proceed by land by way of Korea. [Their force] was called the eastern route force but it was in fact transported in ships. Fan Wên-hu made the request for two thousand horses and the imperial bodyguard and also Mohammedan firearms experts.<sup>76</sup> The Emperor replied, however, that in naval combat there would be no opportunity to use them.

In the third month, those among the expeditionary forces who were adept in archery, and also the Korean soldiers, were supplied with four thousand coats of mail. Ships newly constructed at Tara were assigned to Hong Ta-gu. Criminals whose death sentences had been commuted were assigned to Hsin-tu to be turned into soldiers.



The Emperor [now] spoke to Fan Wên-hu and the others in this wise: "Because [the Japanese] detained my envoys and did not let them return, I am obliged to send you on this expedition. We have heard the Chinese say that one occupies the country of others because one wishes both the land and the people, but that if one kills all the people, the occupation of the land will be of no use. Another matter about which we are considerably concerned is the danger that you might fall into discord among yourselves. In case the Japanese come to discuss matters, we desire you all to be of one mind, planning together and answering as though out of one mouth." Thereupon military orders were proclaimed and robes, armor, bows, and arrows with sea-green emblems were distributed. By this time, Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu, who had started ahead, had already reached Korea. Ch'un, King of Korea, gave orders to his soldiers to join the expedition. Even those who were in mourning for their parents had to join after fifty days.

In the fifth month,<sup>77</sup> Hsin-tu, Hong-Ta-gu, Kim Pang-gyong, Pak Ku, and Kim Chu-chyŏng, at the head of the Mongol, Korean, and Chinese forces, forty thousand strong, on board nine hundred war craft, left Happ'o. On the day of fire and the dragon (the 21st) they attacked the islands of Tsushima and Iki<sup>78</sup> in Japan and killed more than three hundred islanders. Some islanders found shelter in the mountains, but soldiers, hearing the cries of children, sought them out and killed them. The Japanese commanders, Shōni Suketoki<sup>79</sup> and Ryūzōji Suetoki,<sup>80</sup> led forces many tens of thousands strong and fought with our generals on the coast of Iki. The expeditionary forces discharged their firearms. The Japanese were routed and Commander Suketoki was killed. In the sixth month, on the day of earth and the serpent (the 6th),<sup>81</sup> another battle was fought on Shiga Island<sup>82</sup> in Chikuzen. There Hong Ta-gu was nearly taken prisoner by the Japanese. Through succor brought by Lieutenant Wang Wan-hu, Ta-gu was able barely to escape. On the day of metal and the horse (the 7th),<sup>83</sup> another battle was fought, again with un-



favorable result. At this time an epidemic raged among the troops, causing the death of more than three thousand.

Our generals now made their way to the Sea of Munakata.<sup>84</sup> Hōjō Tokimune sent his general, Akitajō Jirō,<sup>85</sup> and others with reenforcements. The Imperial forces drew up the war craft in a circular arrangement. Huge ships were stationed along the outside of this line with catapults ready to shoot at attackers.

Japanese war craft, being small in size, were no match [for these ships]. Those which came up to attack were all beaten off. The whole country, therefore, was trembling with fear. In the markets there was no rice for sale. The Japanese ruler went in person to visit the Hachiman Shrine<sup>86</sup> to make supplication. He also had a royal rescript read at the shrine of the Sun Goddess,<sup>87</sup> imploring that the country be saved in exchange for his own life.

It had been agreed among the generals that Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu should march via Korea and go across the Han sea<sup>88</sup> to the island of Iki, while Fan Wên-hu and Yi Chǒng should go by way of Ch'ing-yüan<sup>89</sup> to the island of Hirato.<sup>90</sup> The island of Hirato, surrounded by water on all sides, was well suited for a base at which to station troops. This island, therefore, they planned to occupy first. From there, light craft could be sent speedily to Iki to summon Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu to join forces [with Fan Wên-hu and Yi Chǒng] so that they could march together. They were to meet at Hirato before the full moon<sup>91</sup> of the sixth month.

[Now] it so happened that A-la-han died of illness at Ch'ing-yüan<sup>92</sup> while on his way. In his stead, the Emperor appointed the Minister of the Left, A-t'a-hai,<sup>93</sup> as commander-in-chief. Before he reached his post, however, Wên-hu and Chǒng had already left. Thereupon, Hsin-tu, Hong Ta-gu, and others held a conference. They said: "The previous agreement was that the Kiang-nan forces were to meet with the eastern



route forces at the island of Iki, but now the southern forces are late, whereas ours have arrived ahead of time. As we have fought great battles many times, our ships are damaged and our provisions are getting low." They asked what was to be done.

Kim Pang-gyong made no reply. When asked again after more than ten days, Pang-gyong said: "In accordance with the order given, three months' provisions were brought here. A month's provisions are still left. It will not be too late, therefore, if we wait for the arrival of the southern forces and resume the attack in concert." Most of the generals, however, did not make any suggestions.

Then Fan Wên-hu and Yi Chǒng arrived with thirty-five hundred ships and more than one hundred thousand troops.<sup>94</sup> They made their way to Shiga Island, where they were met by Hsin-tu and Hong Ta-gu, each at the head of his forces. [Then] they advanced, ship following ship in close file. They were driven back many times by the Japanese, and Hu-tu-ho-ssū<sup>95</sup> was killed in battle. Many other generals also met defeat one after the other. Then they moved over to Takashima in Hizen.<sup>96</sup> When they saw the shadow of hills floating on the waves, they became suspicious that a rock might lie hidden at the entrance, and so they would not go near. Then they saw a great serpent appearing on the surface of the water, and the water smelled of sulphur. There were many other bizarre and weird things, so that the morale of the troops was upset.

On the first day of the tree and the rat, in the eighth month,<sup>97</sup> a furious hurricane blew up and all the ships were either damaged or destroyed. Very many men were drowned, among them the assistant commander-in-chief, A-la-t'ieh-mu-erh.<sup>98</sup> Dead bodies came floating into the bay, borne by the tide, and piled up like a hill. There were, however, several thousand survivors who managed to escape to Takashima. There they tried to repair the damaged ships in order to return home, but all were slain by the Japanese.<sup>99</sup> The ships of Fan Wên-hu and Yi



Chǒng were also wrecked. Chǒng, however, made the shore by holding onto a piece of wreckage, and he escaped by way of Korea.

Shortly before this, Chang Hsi,<sup>100</sup> Director of the Expeditionary Administration, who had come at the head of the squadron together with Right-Minister Fan Wên-hu and Left-Minister Yi Chǒng, had left the squadron upon reaching Hizen and had built [defense] walls at Hirato. He had kept his war craft fifty pu [fifty paces] apart in order to avoid their being dashed together by the gales and waves. Thus the ships under Hsi's command had remained intact. When Fan Wên-hu discussed returning home, Hsi said: "A great majority of the troops are drowned but those who have escaped are all strong men. Let us take advantage of their spirit, which knows no retreat, and, depending on our enemies for provisions, try once more a daring assault." Wên-hu and others did not agree with this advice but said: "In case upon our return to the Court there is discussion of who is responsible, we shall be held to account, whereas you will be exempt." Thereupon Hsi divided the ships, giving some to Wên-hu and the others, and he himself sailed away. The troops [on this campaign] were said to have been more than one hundred thousand, and Korean troops killed, more than seven thousand.

In the eighth month, Wên-hu and the others reached Happ'o in Korea, and after collecting the scattered forces, returned home. Wên-hu made false representations to the Emperor to the effect that he had reached Japan and was about to attack the Dazaifu, when a storm struck and destroyed the ships. He had been, he said, still planning to fight, when Li Tê-piao, chief of ten thousand, Wang Kuo-tso, War Commissioner, and Lu Wên-chêng, navy commandant, failed to follow his orders and made a hasty escape. His [expeditionary] office [i.e. the commander's ship], therefore, had had to take the rest of the troops on board.<sup>101</sup> He had reached Happ'o where the troops had been discharged, each to return to his own home.



Shortly afterwards, a defeated soldier, Yü Ch'ang, managed to reach home and related as follows: "In the seventh month, we reached the island of Hirato and then moved on to Goryūsan.<sup>102</sup> On the first day of the eighth month,<sup>103</sup> a hurricane struck the fleet. All the generals picked the well-built ships and departed in them, leaving behind one hundred thousand troops at the foot of the hill. After discussion, they had named Chang, chief of a hundred, as commander. Under his direction, wood was cut to build ships so that they could sail for home. The Japanese came to attack them and completely defeated them. Twenty or thirty thousand survivors were made prisoners and taken to Hakata Island,<sup>104</sup> where they were all killed. Only the new troops raised from the Chinese were released to be slaves. I [Yü Ch'ang] was one of them."

After that, the officer Mo Ch'ing, together with Wu Wan-wu and others, escaped and reached home. What they said was nearly the same as that related by Ch'ang. Thereupon, Fan Wên-hu and the others were all indicted, Chang Hsi being the only one left free.

Because of the failure of his plan regarding Japan, the Emperor appointed A-t'a-hai once again to raise an army. For some time there was no one who dared to advise him against it. Then Hsiang Wei,<sup>105</sup> a censor stationed at the expeditionary office in Kiang-nan, criticized the plan in an outspoken manner. Thereupon the Emperor suspended mobilization.

In the third month of the nineteenth year (1282), Shên Tsung, a sergeant in the southern army, and others, six in all, escaped and reached Korea. Korea dispatched Yin-hou<sup>106</sup> and Yu Pi<sup>107</sup> to escort them home.

In the first month of the twentieth year (1283), the Emperor wanted to start war again and appointed A-t'a-hai as Premier of the Eastern Expeditionary Headquarters and Ch'un, King of Korea, as Left-Minister. Orders were given to the



military council to summon military officers and to plan proper steps. They got out movable artillery that had been newly manufactured and assigned it, together with the engineer Chang Lin, to the expeditionary headquarters. Coats of mail, uniforms, and helmets were provided for the various troops. However, there was turmoil among the people and robbery became rampant. Hu-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh<sup>108</sup> Ho-ko-tai made a request for troops to attack the pirates. Thereupon, the Emperor told A-t'a-hai to slacken the pace of ship construction and to return at the same time all the merchant ships he had held.

In the same year, the monk Ju-chih of Pu-t'o Temple,<sup>109</sup> in Nan-hai,<sup>110</sup> spoke to the Emperor and advised him thus: "If a war of conquest is begun again, numerous lives will be lost. Besides, there are among [the Japanese] those who are influenced by Buddhist literature. I am certain that they realize the size and strength [of the two countries]. If Your Majesty would order your vassals to carry your august message [to the Japanese] and to teach them, they would be only too glad to offer fealty." Following this advice, the Emperor ordered Ju-chih and Commissioner Wang Chün-chih to take a sealed message and visit Japan. In the eighth month, they went across the sea; but they met a hurricane and were unable to reach Japan. In the first month of the twenty-first year (1284), Ju-chih and Wang Chi-wêng<sup>111</sup> were sent to make a second visit to Japan. They sailed by the Ch'ing-yüan route. [However], the crew killed Wang Chi-wêng, so that the end was not achieved. After that time, the Emperor desired repeatedly to start a campaign but was dissuaded by the remonstrances of his vassals.

When Ch'êng-tsung<sup>112</sup> came to the throne, Premier Wan Tsê<sup>113</sup> made a determined effort to put an end to war. Thereafter, the plan of conquering Japan was not again revived.

In the second year of Ta-tê (1298), the ruler of Japan<sup>114</sup> transferred the title to the heir apparent, who was known as Gofushimi Tennō.<sup>115</sup> In the third year of Ta-tê (1299), the



official attached to the expeditionary office in Kiang-Chê<sup>116</sup> urged the Emperor to subjugate Japan, but the Emperor said that the time was not opportune. He appointed the Buddhist monk I-shan<sup>117</sup> of Pu-t'o, Director General of Buddhism in Kiang-Chê, to go to Japan as an envoy and to take a rescript which read: "Officials have made representations to me to the following effect: 'It is some time since the monk Ju-chih of Pu-t'o and others were dispatched on two occasions with sealed messages [sent] for the purpose of establishing amity. Because of mishaps on the way, they all returned both times. Ever since Your Majesty's inauguration, you have borne good will toward all subordinate countries, without regard for whether they are here or beyond the sea, whether they are near or far away. It is well, therefore, for Japan to establish amity. The monk I-shan of Pu-t'o, known for his strict discipline and lofty conduct, is a proper person to go with this message. He should be given accommodations on merchant ships so that he can reach his destination without fail.' It is a special privilege for me to follow this advice, for I desire at the same time to convey to you the good wishes of my sovereign father. The matter of the establishment of amity and the bringing of peace to the people I leave entirely to the ruler."

I-shan reached the Dazaifu. The Japanese held him at Izu and made no reply to the message.

In the fifth year of Ta-tê (1301), the ruler of Japan<sup>118</sup> transferred his title to the heir apparent, who was known as Gonijō Tennō.<sup>119</sup>

That winter, in the twelfth month, there was a rumor in Japan that two hundred fighting craft were on their way to attack Koshiki-jima<sup>120</sup> in Satsuma. It was not true, however, that forces were sent.

In the reign of Hui-tsung,<sup>121</sup> in the Chih-chêng era,<sup>122</sup> the Japanese often raided the seacoast provinces. In the



twenty-third year (1363), they plundered P'êng-chou.<sup>123</sup> Liu Hsien, chief of ten thousand, fought with and defeated them.

# NOTES

1. The Hsin Yüan shih was compiled by K'io Shao-min 邵希敏, born in 1850 at Chao-hsien, Shantung province. He took the chin-shih degree in 1886, and served in official posts both under the Ch'ing and under the Republic. He died in 1933. The New History of the Yüan, in 257 chüan, was included in 1921-1922 among the dynastic histories by order of President Hsü Shih-ch'ang (who also qualified for the chin-shih in 1886). The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is based on the original edition of 1921-1922.
2. Shih-tsu is the Chinese posthumous title of Kubilai, who in 1260 had himself made khan at Shang-tu.
3. Chǒn 僞, known posthumously as Wǔn-jong, reigned 15 years (1260-1274), dying in 1274.
4. Kameyama Tennō ruled 1259-1274.
5. The era Bun-ō lasted but one year, approximately 1260.
6. The tiger tablet and emblems of like sort are described at some length in H. Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo. Revised by H. Cordier. 2 vols. (London, 1903), vol. I, pp. 351-354; see also Jitsuzō Kuwabara in Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tokyo), No. 7 (1936), pp. 60-61, and Tōru Haneda, "Une Tablette du Décret Sacré de L'empereur Genghis," Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōyō Bunko (The Oriental Library, Tokyo), No. 8 (1936), pp. 85-91. According to the Mêng-ta pei-lu, cited by Haneda, the emblem of the first order was the tiger tablet; of the second order, tablet of gold; of the third order, tablet of silver.
7. There is a biographical sketch of him in the Koryō sa 高麗史 3 vols. (Tōkyō, 1909), 44:131, section on traitors; also in Chosōn sa 朝鮮史 35 vols. (Seoul, 1932-1938), 3:4:364. He was an adventurous physician domiciled in the Yüan court. In citing the Chosōn sa the first number will indicate the volume 編; the second, chapter 卷; and the third, page or pages.
8. Sik was another name for the Chǒn mentioned in note 3 above.
9. Song Kun-bi 宋君璧 is mentioned both in Koryō sa 26 and Chosōn sa 3:4:365-369, but without biographical sketch.
10. Kim Ch'an 金贊. Koryō sa gives his title as censor.
11. For geographical names, see Maps "H" and "I".
12. Kim-chu 金州, port in southeast Korea, near Tsushima.



13. Yi Chang-yong died in 1287 at the age of seventy-two. An eminent scholar both in history and religion and high in the state council, because of his compromise at the time of conspiracy against the Korean throne (1269), he was to be deprived of his titles later. Cf. biographies in Koryō sa 15:102; Chosŏn sa 3:4:367-369.
14. Pan Pu 潘阜 was sent three times to Japan; in his last visit, in 1281, he was assistant envoy attached to the expeditionary force. Chosŏn sa 3:4:368-370 and 379-381; also 484.
15. Koreyasu (1264-1328), a Fujiwara, was Shōgun from 1266 to 1289. He was only two years old when installed in that office. The practice of setting up a Fujiwara puppet shōgun was instituted in 1226 by the Hōjō family, who ruled as regents until 1333.
16. Hōjō Tokimune was Governor of Sagami where Kamakura, the headquarters of the military government, was located from 1266 to 1268, when he became Regent. He held this office until 1284. Cf. Heibon-sha (compiler), Shinsen dai-jinmei jiten, vol. 5, p. 465.
17. A shih is equal approximately to  $133 \frac{1}{3}$  lbs. avoirdupois.
18. Tōjirō and Yashirō. The latter name is variously given in early accounts as Yajirō and Yasaburō, but the family-names of both are unknown. Cf. Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū. 2 vols. (Tōkyō, 1931), vol. 1, pp. 40-41.
19. Seventh year, twelfth moon = January 13 - February 10, 1271. In Yoshi S. Kuno, Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent. Vol. I. (Berkeley, 1937), p. 45, the date is incorrectly given as December, 1270.
20. Biographies of Chao Liang-pi appear in Yüan shih (hereafter abbreviated to YS) 159:9a and Hsin Yüan shih (hereafter abbreviated to HYS) 158:4b. He was a Jurchen by descent with the original name of Shu (or Chu)-yao-chia 杳甲. (It is incorrect for Nakaba Yamada, Genkō, the Mongol Invasion of Japan (London, 1916), p. 98, to call him a Manchu Tartar.) According to both histories he died in 1286 at the age of seventy sui. Yü Shih-hsiung and T'ao Jung 楊士衡, 陶容 [Kiangsu Sinological Library Journal, Nanking] 江蘇省立圖書館第九年刊 9th year [1936], p. 47) give as birth and death dates 1214-1285, without citing their source.
21. So Ch'ong-gal 徐穉吉. Mentioned in HYS 55:158, biography of Chao Liang-pi. HYS 249:146 puts their departure on the 6th day of the 9th month.
22. Imatsu is on the western shores of Hakata Bay, approximately three and a half ri from Hakata and eight ri from Dazaifu. Cf. Yoshida Tōgo (editor), Dai Nihon chinmei jisho (Tōkyō,



- 1911-1913), vol. 2, pp. 1520-1521.
23. Fujiwara Tamasuke. Tamasuke 藤原 朝賢, also read Kyūshi, probably an error for Keishi 景賢, or Kagesuke, of the Shōni family, a branch of the Fujiwara. See subsequent note 46 on Shōni Kakue and Shōni family.
  24. Cf. Sui account of Japan, pp. 32-33.
  25. Chang To receives a brief biographical notice in HYS 140:9a. He was the son of Chang Pang-chieh, who also served under Kubilai.
  26. Ho-li huo-sun, a Mongol name, has two other renderings: Huo-lu huo-sun 火魯火孫 and 火魯霍孫. His biography in HYS 197-1a states that he entered the service of Kubilai in 1268 and died after 1284. The charts of high officials in YS 112 (see especially 112:8a) show that he withdrew from the bureaucracy in or at the end of 1284. He was then right (senior) minister of state to which post he was appointed in the 4th month of 1282.
  27. Yao Shu (1204-1281 or 1203-1280), a Chinese who entered Kubilai's service in 1251, and is lauded for his policy of mercy towards the conquered. See Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 2439, and Paul Pelliot, "Les Yi Nien Lou 疑年錄," T'oung Pao (Leiden), [New Series], livre XXV (1927), p. 73, and "Comptes rendus," Journal Asiatique (Paris), onzième série, tome 3 (Janvier-Juin, 1914), p. 204.
  28. Hsü Hêng (1209-1281), a disciple of Yao Shu. Kubilai placed him successively in charge of the Kuo-tzū-chien and the bureau of astronomy. See Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 772.
  29. According to Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 106-109, 447, the date should be fourth month of the ninth year (1272). Chao Liang-pi had left Kyūshū after his first mission early in 1272.
  30. The fifth month, 1273, is the date of his arrival in the Chinese capital. He had left Kyūshū in the third month after a year in Dazaifu. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 109, 447.
  31. Gouda Tennō reigned from 1274 to 1287.
  32. Hsin-tu's name appears in the lists of high officials, given in YS 112, from 1287 to 1291, but he receives no biographical treatment in either YS or HYS. He was a descendant in the fifth generation of a younger brother of Jenghis Khan. Cf. Louis Hambis, Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che (Leiden, 1945), p. 36. In Mongol the name is pronounced Hindu. This is a different man from the Prince Hindu celebrated by the Sino-Mongol inscription of 1362 translated by Francis W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362,"



Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 12, nos. 1-2 (June, 1949), pp. 1-133.

33. Hong Ta-gu 洪茶邱, was also known as Hong Chun 洪俊, Chun-gi 俊奇, and Hong Chun-ga 洪俊哥. His biography follows that of his father Hong Pok-won 洪福源 in YS 154:2b and HYS 176:3a. He died in 1291 at the age of forty-eight sui. There is an interesting sketch of him too in Koryŏ sa 43:130 where he is denounced as a traitor and described as a refugee in the Mongol service, rising high in the military service. He is characterized as an adventurous intriguer who remembered certain Korean courtiers vengefully for their share in slaying his father.
34. Hu-tun 忽敦. According to Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 124, this is another name for Hsin-tu.
35. Liu Fu-hsiang's biography appears in YS 152:6b and HYS 143:6a; he died in the spring of 1283.
36. Kim Pang-gyŏng 金方慶 died in 1301 at the age of eighty-nine sui. Koryŏ sa 17:104 gives a detailed biography of him. Chosŏn sa 3:5:267 characterizes him as follows: "Pang-gyŏng was loyally upright and faithfully steadfast. Stern and courageous, taciturn in speech, but broad and tolerant in his attitude, little concerned with minor formalities. Well versed in precedents and procedure, his decision was proper. Frugal in habit, he was generous to relatives and friends. Retired and in leisure, his solicitude for the state continued the same as for his own home. And at the discussion of great state problems he was always known to be relied upon. At an advanced age his hair did not turn white, and his vigor was extraordinary; summer and winter he was free from illness."
37. At present Masan-p'o.
38. Tsushima. The attack on Tsushima took place on the 6th day, 10th month of 1274. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 449.
39. After this the governorship of Tsushima was hereditary in the Sō family until the end of the feudal period. For an account of the Sō family, cf. Ōta Akira, Seishi kakei dai-jiten. 3 vols. (Tōkyō, 1934-1936), vol. 2, pp. 2185-2186.
40. Iki. The landing on Iki occurred on the 14th day, 10th month, 1274. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 449.
41. Taira Tsunetaka 平經高 or Taira Kagechika 平景隆. Two early Japanese accounts of the Iki phase of the invasion give the name of the Governor of Iki as Taira Tsunetaka and Taira Kagechika. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 132-133. Some think that this Taira was a descendant of the Taira clan which sought refuge in western Japan



- after their defeat by Yoshitsune in 1185. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 2, p. 3588.
42. Three islands. Although only two islands are mentioned, there is evidence that between the 14th when the invaders attacked Iki and the 19th when they appeared off Hakata, Hu-tun's forces attacked Matsura in Hizen on the 18th. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 135, 449.
  43. Hakata. The attack on Hakata occurred on the 20th. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 135.
  44. Kikuchi Yasunari of Higo. The Kikuchi were a seafaring family of western Japan closely associated with the piratical and loyalist movement in Kyūshū. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 2, pp. 1844-1853.
  45. Akasaka, high ground located a short distance inland from the coast and south of the old Fukuoka castle. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 263-264.
  46. Shōni Kakue, temple name of Shōni Sukeyoshi (1198-1281), whose family served as representatives of the Kamakura Shogunate after the Kenkyū era (1190-1198). The family-name is derived from the title of an officer of the Dazaifu. For a brief biography, cf. Heibon-sha (compiler), Shinsen dai jimmei jiten, vol. 3, pp. 389-390.
  47. Ōsaka Yoriyasu, one of the local lords of Kyūshū, but little is known about him. In the 16th century we find an Ōsaka Jintarō serving under Ōtomo Sorin, lord of Bungo. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 1, p. 1154.
  48. Mêng-ming Shih was a general who served under Duke Mu of Ch'in in the last part of the 7th century B.C. This incident occurred in B.C. 624 when he and his army were sent to attack the forces of the state of Chin in Shensi. Cf. Chavannes (translator), Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien. Tome II (Paris, 1897), p. 43. The Tso chuan also tells of his leading the Ch'in army against Chin in the same year, but does not mention the matter of burning his boats. Cf. James Legge (translator), The Chinese Classics. Vol. V, Part 1 (Hongkong & London, 1872), "Duke Wan, Year II," p. 233.
  49. The Marquis of Huai-yin, or Han Hsin (died B.C. 196), was an officer who joined the forces of Liu Chi in his struggle for mastery of China after the collapse of the empire of Ch'in. The battle in question occurred in B.C. 205. Cf. his biography in the Shih chi 92, translated by John De Francis, "Biography of the Marquis of Huai-yin," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 10, no. 2 (September, 1947), pp. 179-215, especially pp. 192-193. Only brief references are made to the engagement in the basic annals of the period. Cf. Chavannes (translator), Les Mémoires



Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien. Tome II (Paris, 1897), pp. 367-368, and Tubs (translator), The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Fan Ku. Vol I (Baltimore, 1938), p. 43.

50. Kamakura was the headquarters of the Shōguns and of the Hōjō regents.
51. Tatsunokuchi, near Kamakura.
52. Tung Wei 董畏, possibly an Uigur.
53. Hangchow, "temporary" capital of the house of Sung, fell to the Mongols in the second moon of 1276, and the boy Emperor Chao Hsien (1271-1277), together with many other members of the Imperial family, was captured and sent to Peking. The final efforts to keep the Southern Sung alive expired in 1279.
54. The character 時 is not to be found in the Hsiang-hsi tzū-tien, but one may assume its pronunciation in Chinese to be Ch'un and in Korean Ch'un. His reign lasted from 1275 to 1308. His wife was the daughter of Kubilai. They were married with great éclat in Peking in 1274. Cf. Koryō sa 28:32; also Chosōn sa 3:4:474-550 and 3:5:1-333.
55. Yang-chou, a great city on the Grand Canal, a few miles north of the Yangtze River, had long been one of the main ports for ships from Japan and other countries. Cf. Reischauer, "Notes on T'ang Dynasty Sea Routes," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 5, no. 2 (June, 1940), p. 143. It was carried by assault in 1276 by a Mongol army under the command of Shih Pi (1212-1297), a Chinese general.
56. Fan Wên-hu's biography is given in HYS 177:17a. Yule thought that Marco Polo's "Vonsainchin is perhaps Fan Wên-hu with the Chinese title" of Chiang-chun or general (The Book of Ser Marco Polo, vol. 2, p. 261), but E.H. Parker considered it more likely that this name represented Hong Ta-gu, the chin being a misprint ("Some new facts about Marco Polo's book," The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review (Woking), 3rd series, vol. XVII (April, 1904), p. 147).
57. Hsia Kuei (died 1279 at the age of eighty-three sui) -- an officer under the Sung who surrendered at Hsiang-yang in 1269 and joined the Mongols. HYS 177:11b. Pi Yuan (1730-1797), Hsü Tzū-chih t'ung-chien 179:4b-5a.
58. Killed in the 8th or 9th month of 1279. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 192, 194.
59. Tara -- the island of Quelpart; cf. Sui account above, note 25.
60. Kiang-nan means south of the Yangtze. This was the area where the ships for the expedition were being constructed and assembled. Cf. Kuwabara in Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōyō Bunko, No. 7 (1935), p. 37, note 7.



61. A-la-han was a Mongol whose biography appears in YS 129:7a and HYS 160:7b. He died on this campaign, at the age of forty-nine sui. Marco Polo's Abacan is probably a misprint. Cf. G. Schlegel, "Bulletin critique," T'oung Pao (Leiden), [1st series], vol. 9 (1898), p. 153.
62. Li T'ing died in 1304. His biography is given in YS 162:5a and HYS 162:1a.
63. Chang Pa-tu: a short biography is devoted to a man by this name both in YS 151:17b and in HYS 147:12a. The last dated entry is 1260.
64. Ye-su-ta-erh: according to Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕, Yüan shih shih tsu piao 元史氏族表 (Shanghai, 1935), p. 14, he was a Mongol commander over a division of 1000. But if this is a transcription of the Mongol Yäsudär, as seems possible, it would be difficult to identify him. Pelliot declared in a note supplementing Hambis (Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che, p. 82, note 5) that there are a score of men by this name in the Yüan shih.
65. Tung-yǒng-pu: presumably the 路 circuit established in Korea by the Mongols.
66. K'ai-yüan: a circuit established by the Mongols in southern Manchuria.
67. Pei-ching 北京. This is doubtless the circuit established in 1153 by the Chin in Jehol.
68. Liao-yang: another circuit established by the Mongols in southern Manchuria.
69. Pak Ku 朴球 (died 1290). Except for his skill in military matters he had no abilities, according to Koryō sa 17:104. The Tong-guk tong-gam 東國通鑑 (published 1463), cited by Chosŏn sa 3:4:487, asserts that he was among the first Koreans to wear a queue. On the enforced adoption of the queue at this time see Kurakichi Shiratori, "The Queue Among the Peoples of North Asia," Memoirs of the Research Department of The Tōyō Bunko, no. 4 (1929), especially pp. 30-31.
70. Kim Chu-chyōng 金周鼎 (died 1291). As member of the state council he became a loyal confidant of the king. See biography in Koryō sa 12:104; also in Chosŏn sa 3:4:237-238.
71. Cho In-gyu 趙仁規 (died 1308 at the age of seventy-two). Expert in Mongol, he represented Korea at the Yüan Court thirty times. Cf. Koryō sa 18:105.
72. Pak Chi-yang 朴之亮, an officer mentioned in Chosŏn sa 3:4:426 and 3:5:170.
73. Cho Pyōn 趙朴, son-in-law of Kim Pang-gyōng.
74. Kim Chung-ssōng 金仲成. His appointment is confirmed in Chosŏn sa 3:5:40.



75. Chang Kuei, son of Chang Hung-fan (1238-1280), who defeated the last of the Sung defenders. Kuei rose to be chancellor of the Hanlin and died in 1327. See YS 175:1a and YYS: 139: 14a.
76. Mohammedan firearms experts: there is a curious discrepancy here already pointed out by Goodrich and Wêng in ISIS, vol. 37 (July, 1947), pp. 194, 250. In the HYS biography of Ian (18b) he is made to ask the Emperor to give 2000 horses and Uigur engineers. As mentioned there, the terms for Moslems (Hui-hui) and Uigur (Hui-hu) are often used interchangeably in Yüan literature.
77. 5th month, 3rd day is equivalent to May 21, 1281. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 453.
78. Iki was attacked on the 26th; 5th month, 26th day is equivalent to June 13, 1281. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 453.
79. Shōni Suketoki, son of Kagesuke, was only thirteen years old at the time. Cf. Heibon-sha (compiler), Shinsen dai jimeiji jiten, vol. 3, p. 389.
80. Ryūzōji Suetoki of Hizen rose to be one of the important feudal heads in Kyūshū, though for only a short period. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 3, pp. 6552-6553.
81. June 23.
82. Shiga is at the tip of a long, narrow shoal which juts out across the mouth of Hakata Bay from the east coast. Cf. map in Yoshida Tōgo (editor), Nihon dokushi chizu (Tōkyō, 1927), p. 23.
83. June 24.
84. Munakata, on the coast of Chikuzen, northeast of Hakata Bay. Cf. map in Yoshida (editor), Nihon dokushi chizu, p. 23.
85. Akitajō Jirō commanded troops which had been mobilized in eastern Japan. On the part he played in the various battles cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 230, 232, 243, 246, and 258.
86. Kameyama Tennō paid personal homage to the Hachiman Shrine at Iwashimizu near the capital in 1281.
87. At Ise.
88. Han-hai, otherwise written as Pong Hae.
89. Ch'ing-yüan 慶源. According to the Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'ü-tien (Shanghai, 1930), p. 1163, this is located in Chao-hsien, Hopei. More likely it is a place of the same name in Korea, unless the second character is a homophonous error for 元; see note 92 below.
90. Hirato, large island off the northwestern tip of Hizen.



91. The full moon would fall on July 2.
92. Ch'ing-yüan 慶元, a circuit established under the Yüan in the region of modern Ningpo, Chekiang.
93. A-t'a-hai, name also rendered A-t'a-ho 合, was a Mongol whose biography appears in YS 129:9a and HYS 132:9b. He died in the 12th moon of Chih-yüan 26 (January 13 - February 10, 1290) at the age of fifty-six sui.
94. This force had departed from Ch'ing-yüan on the 18th of the 6th month and arrived at Hirato about seven days later. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, p. 305.
95. Hu-tu-ho-ssü was the son of Yüeh-li-ma-ssü 月里麻思, whose biography appears in YS 123:15b-16a. See also HYS 152:1b. He was likewise known as Ta-la-han 答剌罕.
96. Takashima in Hizen, at the mouth of the Gulf of Imari. This move occurred on the 27th day of the 7th month. Ikeuchi notes that meanwhile, between the 29th of the 6th month, when an advance detachment from Fan Wên-hu's forces reached Iki, and the 2nd day of the 7th month, another battle had taken place in Iki. Cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 280-293.
97. Eighth month -- August 17.
98. A-la-t'ieh-mu-erh's biography appears in YS 166:1b and HYS 176:10b.
99. The survivors were attacked by the Japanese from the 5th to the 7th. For an account of the battles in the Takashima area, cf. Ikeuchi, Genkō no shin-kenkyū, vol. I, pp. 307-328.
100. Chang Hsi died in 1291 at the age of seventy-five sui. See YS 165:7a and HYS 166:1b.
101. That is to say, Wên-hu's ship was the expeditionary headquarters.
102. Goryūsan, a small island east of Iki. But here Takashima was intended.
103. August 16.
104. Hakata Island 八角. Error for Hakata 博多 on the south-east corner of Hakata Bay.
105. Hsiang Wei was the son of Prince Su-hun-ch'a 速渾察, whose biography appears in YS 119:12b and HYS 120:1a, appointed censor in 1277. Hsiang Wei died in 1283 (?) at the age of forty sui. See YS 128:10b and HYS 120:3b.
106. Yin-hou, a Mongol who, according to Koryō sa 36:123, accompanied the daughter of Kubilai (and wife of the King) to Korea and settled there, adopting a Korean name; he is said to have amassed a fortune there in a ruthless fashion, dying in 1312 at the age of sixty-two.



107. Yu Pi. The Chosŏn sa 3:4:261 mentions him in connection with Yin-hou as an intriguer. His name is given as 柳清臣, Ch'ŏng-sin in Koryŏ sa 28:125. Could this have been applied with mocking intent? The term means stainless minister.
108. Hu-tu-t'ieh-mu-erh bears the same name as Qudu[q]-Tämür listed as a remote descendant of Ogodai, but it is unlikely that they have any connection. See Hambis, Le Chapitre CVII du Yuan Che, chart 36, and pp. 154-155. Several men by this name received biographical mention in Yüan works. Cf. 引信 Yin-tê 35 (June 1940), or Combined Indices to Thirty Collections of Liao, Chin and Yüan Biographies (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, No. 35), p. 69.
109. Pu-t'o 補陀: another name for P'u-t'o-shan 普陀山, an island sacred to Avalokiteśvara off the coast of Chekiang.
110. Nan-hai -- i.e., the sea toward the south.
111. Wang Chi-wêng was a native of Fu-ning, Fukien province. See biography in YS 184-1a and HYS 177:20a.
112. Ch'êng-tsung, posthumous name of Kubilai's grandson Timur khan, 1267-1307. His reign began after the death of Kubilai in the first moon of 1294.
113. Wan Tsê was prime minister from 1291 to his death in the fourth moon of 1303. See YS 130:13b and HYS 197:2b.
114. Fushimi Tennō (reigned 1287-1298).
115. Gofushimi Tennō (reigned 1298-1301).
116. Kiang-Chê included both Kiang-nan and Chêkiang.
117. I-shan (1247-1317), perhaps better known as I-ning 一寧, a native of T'ai-chou 台州 in Chêkiang province, whose family name was Hu 胡. Though held by government order his reputation as a Ch'an master so impressed the Japanese that he was invited to preside at a monastery in Kyōto. Emperors and shōguns, it is said, came under his influence. Such Japanese masters of the sect as Kokan Shiren (1277-1346) and Musō Soseki (1276-1351) owed their leadership to the example which he set. For his biography see "Genkō shaku-sho," pp. 26-127, in Kuroita (editor), Kokushi tai-kei, vol. 31.
118. Gofushimi Tennō.
119. Goniō Tennō (reigned 1302-1307).
120. Koshiki-jima, a small island approximately 15 li off the west coast of Satsuma. Cf. Yoshida Tōgo (editor), Dai Nihon chimei jiten (Tōkyō, 1937-1940, 2d edition), vol. 3 [Chūgoku, Shikoku, Saikoku], pp. 1823-1824.
121. Hui-tsung, the posthumous name of Tohan Timur (1320-1370),



the last of the Mongol emperors to occupy the throne of China.

122. The Chih-chêng era began in 1341 and ended in 1368, when the house of Yüan fell.
123. P'êng-chou: this is probably P'êng-lai on the Shantung peninsula. It is so asserted by Akiyama Kenzō, Nisshi kōshōshi kenkyū (Tōkyō, 1939), p. 439, and appears to be confirmed in the section on geography of the HIS (46:22b), sub. Têng-chou. The local histories, P'êng-lai-hsien chih (1839) 4:2a and P'êng-lai-hsien hsü chih (1882) 4:1b, both mention frequent Japanese raids throughout the Ming and the defenses arranged to stop them (beginning in 1376), but no mention is made of the attack of 1363. The Hsi tzü chih t'ung chien 217:9b says that this raid occurred in the 8th month on the day of ting-yu (September 8), and adds that there had been a series of such piratical attacks commencing in 1358.



- |              |                                |
|--------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 Honshū     | 12 Tung-yōng-pu                |
| 2 Kamakura   | 13 Khanbalik (Peking, capital) |
| 3 Kyōto      | 14 P'êng-chou (P'êng-lai)      |
| 4 Shikoku    | 15 Grand Canal                 |
| 5 Kyūshū     | 16 Yang-chou                   |
| 6 Tsushima   | 17 Pu-t'ō                      |
| 7 Iki        | 18 Ch'ing-yüan                 |
| 8 Han Sea    | 19 Nan-hai                     |
| 9 Tara       | 20 Yünnan                      |
| 10 Happ'ō    | 21 Annam                       |
| 11 Kōje-hyōn | 22 Hai-nan                     |



Map H  
YÜAN (MONGOL) DYNASTY  
1279-1368





- 1 Happ'o
- 2 Tsushima
- 3 Iki
- 4 Goryūsan
- 5 Sea of Munakata
- 6 Shiga
- 7 Kashii
- 8 Hakata & Akasaka
- 9 Dazaifu
- 10 Imatsu
- 11 Takashima
- 12 Hirato
- 13 Koshiki-jima

Map I  
KYUSHU  
During the Mongol invasions



## HISTORY OF THE MING

(Ming Shih 322)<sup>1</sup>

### Foreign Countries: Japan

Japan is the country of Wa-nu of old. Its name was changed to Japan early in the Hsien-hêng era (670-674) of T'ang. It was so named because of its nearness to where the sun rises in the eastern sea. The land is surrounded by water except in the northeast, where it is bounded by high mountains.

It has five inner provinces, seven circuits, and three islands -- a total of one hundred fifteen provinces, comprising five hundred eighty-seven counties. Several tens of minor domains are all under its domination. The small provinces are only a hundred li in extent, and the large ones do not exceed five hundred li. Families in each small province are [about] one thousand in number; in the large ones they do not exceed ten or twenty thousand.

The ruler of the country generation after generation is known as Wang [King]; all officials are also hereditary. Prior to the Sung dynasty, there was intercourse with the Middle Kingdom, and visits to the Court with tribute were made without cessation. Details are seen in the previous histories.

Shih-tsu of the Yüan dynasty [i.e., Kubilai] several times dispatched Chao Liang-pi as emissary [to the Japanese] to extend an invitation to them, but they did not come. Thereupon, Hsin-tu and Fan Wên-hu were ordered to head a force one hundred thousand strong to subjugate them. When this squadron reached Goryüsan,<sup>2</sup> it met a hurricane, and all the forces went to the bottom of the sea.

Later, invitations were again sent many times, but the Japanese failed to come; and to the end of the Yüan dynasty, there was no intercourse opened.



[Then] the Ming came into power and Kao Huang-ti<sup>3</sup> was on the throne. First Fang Kuo-chên and then Chang Shih-ch'êng<sup>4</sup> were put to death. Those rebel leaders who escaped abroad often gathered the islanders around them and came to raid the coastal provinces of Shantung.

In the third month of the second year of Hung-wu (1369),<sup>5</sup> the Emperor sent an agent, Yang Tsai, bearing a message of conciliation from the Court to Japan, and reprimanding her at the same time for the raids. The message said: "If you are friendly toward the government, then appear at the Court; otherwise make armed preparations to defend yourselves. In case you attempt raid or robbery, orders will be instantly given to start a war of subjugation. We desire you, O King, to consider well."

The King of Japan, Ryōkai,<sup>6</sup> would not listen. He again raided Shantung and moved on to plunder the people of the sea-coast prefectures of Wên, T'ai, and Ming,<sup>7</sup> raiding as far down the coast as the prefecture of Fukien.

In the third month of the third year (1370), the sub-prefect of the prefecture of Lai,<sup>8</sup> Chao Chih, was dispatched with a reprimand. Crossing the water, he reached Chê-mu-yai and entered the [Japanese] domain. The keeper of the official gate would not let him come inside the gate. Chih wrote a letter to Ryōkai, and Ryōkai let Chih come inside. Then the latter talked of the might and virtue of the Middle Kingdom. He presented also the Imperial message he had brought censuring the disloyalty [of Ryōkai].

Ryōkai then said: "My country is located far out in the east, but it has never ceased to admire the Middle Kingdom. The Mongols, however, are barbarians like ourselves. They wanted to make us their slaves [but] our loyal predecessor would not yield. Thereupon a courtier by the name of Chao was sent to beguile us with honoyed words. Even before his speech was concluded, a squadron a hundred thousand strong was in full array on our shore. As heaven brought thunder and tornado,



these forces were capsized all at once. Now a new sovereign is ruling in the Middle Kingdom and the ambassador is again known as Chao. Is he not a Mongol's son, who is here to beguile us again with honeyed words in order to make a sudden attack?" [Ryōkai] cast glances to left and right and was about to slay [the envoy].

Chih, however, remained unmoved and took time to explain, saying: "The sovereign of our great Ming [Empire] is divine, both in literature and in arms, beyond any comparison with the Mongols. Nor am I either a descendant of the Mongol emissary; so if you still wish to dispatch me, then dispatch me."

Ryōkai was taken aback. He came down to take the hand of Chao Chih and treated him with the utmost cordiality. He sent the monk, Sorai,<sup>9</sup> with a memorial to the Throne, addressing himself [to the Emperor] as a subject, and [he sent] tribute of horses and other native products. He also sent home more than seventy prisoners captured in the two prefectures of Ming and T'ai. In the tenth month of the fourth year (1371), they arrived at the capital.

T'ai-tsu, in appreciation, gave a banquet and gifts to the delegates. As the people [of Japan] adored Buddha, he thought that they might be won over by means of the religion of the west. Accordingly he gave orders to monks Tsu-ch'an and K'io-ch'in and others,<sup>10</sup> eight altogether, to accompany the delegation on its return trip. He bestowed on Ryōkai the Court calendar as well as delicate silks of excellent designs.

The same year, Wên-chou was sacked. In the fifth year (1372), Hai-yen and Kan-p'u<sup>11</sup> were plundered; raids were also made on several prefectures on the coast of Fukien. In the sixth year (1373), Yü Hsien<sup>12</sup> was appointed Brigade-General to be sent to sea for patrol. The Wa raided Lai and Têng.<sup>13</sup>

Tsu-ch'an's party had already reached Japan and begun preaching religion, to the profound edification of the people



of the country. The King,<sup>14</sup> however, was disdainful and held the party in prison for two years. They returned to the capital in the fifth month of the seventh year (1374). The Wa raided Chiao-chou.<sup>15</sup>

Ryōkai was still young. There was a certain Jimyō<sup>16</sup> who was contesting with him for the throne and bringing about internal disorder.

In the seventh month of the same year, a minister<sup>17</sup> [of Japan] sent a delegation headed by the monk Sen Monkei<sup>18</sup> with a written message addressed to the Grand Council, and with horses and indigenous products as tribute. They came with a memorial which was not addressed to the Throne. The Emperor decreed to reject it; nevertheless gifts were given to the delegates and they were sent home. Some time later, Ujihisa,<sup>19</sup> Governor of an island, sent a monk with a memorial to the Throne and also with tribute, but the Emperor again rejected [the embassy] as it had come without a memorial from the King; besides, the date was not given in accordance with the Court calendar. Still a gift was given to the envoy. An order was given to officials of the Department of Ceremony to dispatch a note reprimanding the impropriety [of the envoy] in overstepping his bounds by bringing the tribute unofficially.

As raids and plundering followed in rapid succession, the Secretariat was also ordered to send a note of reprimand.

Thereupon, in the fourth month of the ninth year (1376), the monk Kei Teiyō<sup>20</sup> and others came with tribute to ask for pardon. Displeased with the insincerity of the memorial, the Emperor issued an edict of warning, but a banquet and gifts were given according to precedent.

In the twelfth year (1379), the tribute came and in the thirteenth year (1380) it came again. It came without the memorial, but with a letter from Minamoto Yoshimitsu,<sup>21</sup> the Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo, addressed to the Premier.



The wording was arrogant so that the tribute was rejected and an envoy dispatched to carry an Imperial edict of reprimand. In the fourteenth year (1381), the tribute was brought again,<sup>22</sup> and again the Emperor rejected it. An order was given to the Department of Ceremony to send a note censuring the king, as well as a note censuring the Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo, and indicating the intention of declaring war.

[Then] Ryōkai replied to the Emperor: "Your subject has heard that the three divine ones initiated the sovereignty and that five Emperors<sup>23</sup> left the Throne to their successors. Since there is a ruler in the Middle Kingdom, there is no reason why there should not be a ruler among the barbarians. The universe is immense in scope and defies the rule of a single monarch; the cosmos is enormous in breadth, affording space for various states to exist independently. After all, the world is the world of the world, not the world of a single person. Your subject lives in the remote and poor country of Wa. A small strip of land -- its castles and moats are less than sixty; its fiefs and domains are short of three thousand. Even so, we are contented. Your Majesty is lord of the Middle Kingdom, the monarch of ten thousand chariots. Cities and moats are more than several thousands; fiefs and domains extend a million li. Still you are of discontented mind, entertaining from time to time desire for total subjugation. When heaven moves toward murder, stars and planets change their positions; when earth moves toward murder, dragons and serpents run amuck; when man moves toward murder, heaven and earth become topsy-turvy. In olden times, Yao and Shun<sup>24</sup> were virtuous -- so the Four Seas came to pay homage to them. T'ang and Wu<sup>25</sup> acted with benevolence, and from the eight quarters came tribute.

"Your subject is informed that the Celestial Court entertains the plan of starting warfare. I can say for my small country that it also has a program for keeping enemies at bay. In the literary field, we have the moral literature of Confucius



and Mencius; and in the field of war, we possess the military strategy and tactics of Sun and Wu.<sup>26</sup> We are also informed that Your Majesty has appointed trusted generals and has also raised a brave and strong army to come to conquer our domain. I desire to warn you that the land of marshes and valleys, the islands of hills and waters, have their natural way of defense. We are not going to bend our knees by the wayside to take orders from others. Obedience is not necessarily the way to save life; neither is opposition the way to certain death. Let us meet at the foot of Mt. Garan<sup>27</sup> to try the battle. Your subject is not frightened. If you win and I lose, then the desire of the great country will be gratified; on the other hand, if your subject wins and you lose, you will become the laughing stock of the small countries. It is an old saying that it is best to make peace, but that only the strong can stop fighting and thus rescue the populace from the abyss of misery and save the masses from suffering. A special envoy is therefore being dispatched to visit the red painted steps of Your Majesty's Court. We pray that your great country will consider this well."

When the Emperor received this memorial, he was exceedingly irate. Taking the failure of the Mongols as a warning, however, he desisted from beginning war.

In the sixteenth year (1383), the Wa raided Chin-hsiang<sup>28</sup> and P'ing-yang.

In the nineteenth year (1386), an envoy<sup>29</sup> came to the Court with tribute, but it was rejected.

The year following (1387), Chou Tê-hsin,<sup>30</sup> Marquis of Chiang-hsia, was ordered to visit four coastal prefectures of Fukien to make a survey of the actual situation, and to move to other locations guard stations and forts which were found not to be strategic. From every family one out of three taxable males was drafted for the guard service, and as many as sixteen forts were built. Visiting supervisors were increased to forty-five; a little more than fifteen thousand soldiers were raised.



T'ang Ho,<sup>31</sup> Duke of Hsin-kuo, was also ordered to visit and make a survey of the eastern and western prefectures of Chekiang, and to reorganize the coastal defenses. As many as fifty-nine forts were built. From every family comprising more than four adult males, one was drafted as a guard; and more than fifty-eight thousand seven hundred soldiers were raised to guard the forts above mentioned. Thus the coast defense was greatly improved. In the intercalary sixth month, an order was given to Fukien to prepare one hundred sea craft and to Kuang-tung to prepare twice as many. They were to meet in the ninth month at Chekiang to go to capture Wa. That plan, however, was not carried out.

Some time before this, Hu Wei-yung<sup>32</sup> had plotted treason. He wanted to obtain aid from Japan, and so he entered into a close friendship with Lin Hsien, the guard commandant of Ningpo. False representation was made to the Emperor to the effect that Lin Hsien had committed an offense, so that he was sent into exile in Japan and thus enabled to establish contact and connection with the ruler [of Japan] and his vassals. Then later, through another representation to the Emperor, Hsien was restored to his former post and an emissary sent to bring him home. Through [this emissary] a letter was sent in secret to the ruler of Japan in order to obtain armed assistance. [Then] Hsien returned home. The King sent [with him] the monk Nyōyō at the head of about four hundred warriors on the pretense of visiting the Court to offer tribute. Among the presents was a giant lantern which held powder and swords hidden in it. Before the party arrived, however, Wei-yung had been defeated, so that the scheme was of no avail. The Emperor still remained unaware of this malicious plot. When it was exposed many years later, he put Hsien's entire family to death. He became exceedingly afraid of Japan and made up his mind to sever all relations and to devote his attention to maritime defense. When, however, Prince Tō Yūji<sup>33</sup> arrived to enter the Imperial Academy, the Emperor was good enough to treat him with cordiality. In the



fifth month of the twenty-fourth year (1391), the title of Intendant of Circuit was especially conferred upon [the Prince], and he was made to stay in the capital. Later the Emperor wrote "Founders' Instructions [to Posterity]"<sup>34</sup> in which he enumerated fifteen countries not for conquest, and among them was Japan. Thereafter tribute ceased to arrive. Alarms from the sea also gradually subsided.

When Ch'êng-tsu<sup>35</sup> came to the throne, he took the occasion of his inauguration to extend an invitation [to Japan].<sup>36</sup> Again, in the first year of Yung-lo (1403), he sent the Senior Commissioner of the Office of Transmission, Chao Chü-jên,<sup>37</sup> and a member of the Court of State Ceremonies, Chang Hung-chieh, as well as the monk, Tao-ch'êng. They were about to leave the country when the tribute envoy arrived at Ningpo. The officer of the Department of Ceremony, Li Chih-kang, then submitted a report on precedents in connection with visits of alien envoys to China which said: "Such envoys are not to be permitted to bring weapons secretly for sale to the people. The local officials are to be notified to investigate ships, and any cases of offenders are to be reported to the capital." The Emperor, however, said: "When outlying barbarians bring tribute, they come from afar and in the face of great risk and dangers. Their expenditure is really enormous, so that it is only human that they should try to defray expenses with what they bring with them. Sweeping application of the prohibitive statute, therefore, is not proper. As to the weapons they bring, purchase them at market price. Do not alienate their good-will toward us."

In the tenth month, the envoy reached the capital and presented to the Emperor the memorial of King Minamoto Dōgi,<sup>38</sup> as well as the tribute. The Emperor treated the party with the utmost cordiality and dispatched an official to return with the envoy and to present to Dōgi a crown, an official robe, a golden seal with tortoise knob, and brocade and other exquisite silks.<sup>39</sup>



In the eleventh month of the following year (1404), an envoy arrived with congratulations for the inauguration of the heir-apparent.<sup>40</sup> Just at that time, pirates from the islands of Tsushima and Iki plundered the people on the seacoast. Therefore instructions were sent to the King to capture them. The King dispatched an army and annihilated the pirates, holding, however, twenty ringleaders in bonds to be brought as an offering to the Court, together with tribute, in the eleventh month of the third year (1405).<sup>41</sup> The Emperor was even more satisfied with this, and sent the sub-director of the Court of State Ceremonial, P'an Tz'ü,<sup>42</sup> with the eunuch Wang Chin, to bestow on the King a royal robe with nine markers, copper coins and paper money, brocade and silks, together with a promotion in Court rank. The captives offered to the Court were sent back to be punished in their own country; but when the envoy reached Ningpo, he had all the captives placed in jars and stifled to death.

In the first month of the following year (1406), another envoy, in the person of the vice president of a board, Hsi Shih-chi,<sup>43</sup> was sent. He carried with him a message with the Imperial seal expressing approval and appreciation, together with abundant gifts. A mountain<sup>44</sup> in Japan was officially named Mount of Longevity, Peace, and Pacification, and a stone monument with the Imperial handwriting was built on its summit. In the sixth month, the delegate returned the visit in order to express appreciation for the regal costumes.

During the fifth and sixth years (1407-08), envoys came frequently with tribute, bringing with them as offerings the pirates who had been captured.<sup>45</sup> One envoy, upon his departure, made the request that the two books, "Exhortations to Goodness" and "Instructions for the Inner Apartments," written by the Empress Jên Hsiao, be given him.<sup>46</sup> Instantly the order was given that two hundred copies be bestowed on him.

In the eleventh month another tribute arrived.<sup>47</sup>



In the twelfth month, the Crown Prince of Japan, Minamoto Yoshimochi,<sup>48</sup> sent an envoy with the report of his father's death. The eunuch Chou Ch'üan was ordered to go with condolences. The posthumous name "Kung Hsien" was granted; funeral offerings and contributions were also made. Then other officials were sent with an Imperial decree installing Yoshimochi as King of Japan. At this time an alarm over Japanese pirates was sounded on the sea, and officials were sent again to instruct Yoshimochi to strike and capture them. In the fourth month of the eighth year (1410), Yoshimochi sent an envoy to express his appreciation, and following that, he presented to the Court the captured pirates, to the profound satisfaction of the Emperor.

In the second month of the following year (1411), Wang Chin was sent again with an Imperial message of appreciation as well as gifts. He also made wholesale purchase of merchandise [in Japan]. The King<sup>49</sup> and his courtiers conspired to prevent Chin from returning home, so that Chin had to board a ship secretly and escape by another route. Thereafter for a long time no tribute arrived. The same year the Wa raided P'an-shih.<sup>50</sup>

In the fifteenth year (1417), the Wa raided Sung-mên, Chin-hsiang and P'ing-yang.<sup>51</sup> Tens of Wa men were captured and brought to the capital. The Court officials requested that they might deal with them according to the statute. The Emperor said, however, that since intimidation by punishment was less desirable than befriending with virtue, they would do as well to send them home. Thereupon, an officer, second-class secretary of the Board of Punishments, LüYüan, was appointed [with others] to carry an Imperial message of reprimand, telling [the Wa] to repent and improve their ways. He also told them to send home those Chinese who had been made captives.<sup>52</sup>

In the fourth month of the following year (1418), the King sent the envoy Zuien<sup>53</sup> and others with tribute. The latter stated [as follows]: "Because of sea marauders running amuck, the tribute delegation has been unable to come to the Court. As



for those ruthless thieves, we knew nothing whatsoever about them. Therefore we beg that the Court pardon us and accept our tribute." Because of the amicable nature of this explanation, the Emperor accepted it and treated the envoy as formerly. But maritime aggression still did not stop.

In the seventeenth year (1419), junks of Wa made their way to the Wang-chia-shan Islands.<sup>54</sup> The Commander-in-chief, Liu Jung, hastened at the head of a well-trained army to Sentinel Heights.<sup>55</sup> The pirates, many thousand in number in twenty ships, had gone straight to Ma-hsiung Island and proceeded to lay siege to Sentinel Heights. Jung ambushed them and in a surprise attack cut off the line of their retreat. The pirates [then] fled to Yi-t'ao-yüan<sup>56</sup> and rallied their troops for assault. [But] Jung beheaded seven hundred forty-two and captured eight hundred fifty-seven alive. Jung was summoned to the capital and was created Earl of Luang Ning. Thereafter the Wa did not dare to prowl off the Liao-tung coast.

In the twentieth year (1422), the Wa raided Hsiang-shan.

In the first month of the seventh year of Hsüan-tê (1432),<sup>57</sup> the Emperor's attention was called to the fact that while all outlying peoples on every side appeared at the Court, Japan alone had not brought tribute for some time.<sup>58</sup> The eunuch, Ch'ai Shan, was ordered to visit Liu-chiu in order to have the King of that island admonish Japan. An Imperial message was given [to the King].

During the summer of the following year (1433), King Minamoto Yoshinori<sup>59</sup> sent an envoy to the Court. The Emperor reciprocated with the bestowal of white gold and paper currency with designs.<sup>60</sup> During the fall, the envoy arrived again. Then in the tenth month of the tenth year (1435), when Ying Tsung<sup>61</sup> succeeded to the throne, the envoy was sent with tribute.<sup>62</sup> Upon the return of the envoy in the second month of the first year of Chêng-t'ung (1436), a gift of silver currency was made to the King and his consort.



In the fourth month, the Board of Works suggested as follows: "In the Hsüan-tê era Japan and the other countries were all given the tally as a mark of identification.<sup>63</sup> As we now have a new era, let us take occasion to issue a new tally." [That suggestion] was followed.

In the fifth month of the fourth year (1439), Wa junks, forty in number, defeated the coast guards of T'ai-chou, T'ao-chu, Ningpo, and Ta-sung<sup>64</sup> in rapid succession; they also made Ch'an-kuo-wei<sup>65</sup> surrender. They slaughtered and plundered in reckless abandon.

In the fifth month of the eighth year (1443), they raided Hai-ning. Some time before, during the Hung-hsi era,<sup>66</sup> the peasants Chou Lai-pao of Huang-yen and Chung P'u-fu of Lung-yen,<sup>67</sup> harassed by levies of labor by officials, had revolted and joined hands with the Wa. Whenever the Wa came to raid the land, they had acted as guides. This time they showed the way to Lo-ch'ing;<sup>68</sup> landing ahead, they were scouting, when the Wa men suddenly departed. The two [peasants], left behind in the village, had to beg their way and were arrested. They were sentenced to capital punishment and their heads were exposed by the seaside.

The Wa were shrewd by nature; they carried merchandise and weapons together and appeared here and there along the sea-coast. If opportunity arrived, they displayed their weapons, raiding and plundering ruthlessly. Otherwise, they exhibited their merchandise, saying that they were on their way to the Court with tribute. The southeastern coast was victimized by them.

In the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453),<sup>69</sup> [the Wa] came with tribute; arriving at Lin-ch'ing,<sup>70</sup> they robbed the inhabitants of their goods. When a spokesman went to accuse them, he was beaten nearly to death. The local official then made an appeal for their punishment. This was denied, as the Emperor was afraid of losing the good-will of the foreigners.



In the early part of Yung-lo, an edict decreed that Japan might send tribute every ten years, that the personnel be limited to two hundred, and ships to two, and that weapons should not be carried. In case of violation, [the Japanese] would be treated as offenders. Two ships were then given to them to be used in carrying the tribute. But later everything did not turn out as decreed.

In the early part of Hsüan-tê, a covenant was entered into that personnel should not exceed three hundred and that there should not be more than three ships.<sup>71</sup> The Wa, however, being greedy, brought merchandise in addition to the tribute, ten times as much, and asked that the regular price be paid. The officer of the Board of Ceremony said: "During the Hsüan-tê era, they brought as tribute such things as sulphur, sapan wood, swords, fans and lacquer ware, and payment was made either in paper currency at the market price or sometimes with cotton and silks. The articles were not large in number, but the profit on them was enormous. If we now pay at the former rate, it will be two hundred seventeen thousand coins of silver. Therefore the price should be drastically reduced and about thirty-four thousand seven hundred coins of silver be paid." This suggestion was followed to the dissatisfaction of the envoy. The latter made the request that the payment be increased to the former rate. By Court order the sum of ten thousand coins was added, but even this the envoy considered too small, and he demanded that the Imperial gift be made larger. By order of the Court, fifteen hundred pieces of cotton cloth and silk were [then] added. Still discontented, the envoy returned home.

Early in T'ien-hsün, [King] Minamoto Yoshimasa<sup>72</sup> was eager to dispatch an envoy to the Court with an apology because his former envoy had offended the Celestial Court. Not daring to establish contact, he wrote a message to the King of Korea asking him to make a request on his behalf. Korea was instructed to state explicitly [to the Japanese] that when they chose an



envoy this time, they should appoint one who was mature in experience and well informed as to his status, and that reckless disorder such as occurred the last time would never be tolerated again. After that, the tribute envoy did not arrive for some time.

During the summer of the fourth year of Ch'êng-hua (1468),<sup>73</sup> [Japan] sent an envoy with tribute of horses and with an apology.<sup>74</sup> He was treated according to precedent. In the party were three interpreters, who gave the explanation that they were originally villagers of Ningpo and had been captured by pirates in their infancy and sold to Japan. These men requested that they might take this occasion to visit their parents. Their request was granted, with the warning that the envoys should not be taken to visit their home, lest their countrymen be lured away from home to go to sea.

Again in the eleventh month, the envoy Seikei arrived with tribute.<sup>75</sup> [His men] wounded people in the market and officials appealed [to the Court] to administer justice for this offense. The case was referred to Seikei, who addressed a memorial to the Throne saying that the offenders should be subjected to the law of their own country, and that therefore they should be permitted to return home, where they would be lawfully punished. As for himself, he would hold himself responsible for his inability to hold them in restraint. [Thereupon] the Emperor set free [both Seikei and the culprits]. Thereafter the envoys became more and more unscrupulous.

In the ninth month of the thirteenth year (1477), an envoy came with tribute again and asked for the fo-tsu t'ung-chi<sup>76</sup> and other books. By order of the Emperor, he was given the Fa yüan chu lin.<sup>77</sup> The envoy took pains to explain what the King desired and requested that more gifts than usual be granted. Accordingly, fifty thousand kuan<sup>78</sup> of coins were allowed.

In the eleventh month of the twentieth year (1484),<sup>79</sup> another tribute came.



In the third month of the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496),<sup>80</sup> King Minamoto Yoshitaka<sup>81</sup> sent an envoy. On his way home [this envoy] came to Chi-ning,<sup>82</sup> where a subordinate went so far as to commit murder with a sword. The officials requested that he be punished. [Then] an edict was issued to the effect that henceforth only fifty persons should be permitted to visit the capital and that any others should be detained on board ship. [The Court] ordered [also] that defense and other regulations be strictly enforced.

In the winter of the eighteenth year (1505), another tribute arrived.<sup>83</sup> At that time Wu Tsung<sup>84</sup> was already on the throne. He gave orders that the precedent be followed of presenting the envoy with a cast gold medal and tallies.

In the winter of the fourth year of Chêng-tê (1509), another tribute arrived.<sup>85</sup> The Board of Ceremony proposed that in the first month of the following year a great New Year banquet should be given and that Korean subjects should be assigned to the east seventh section in the palace. For Japan there was no precedent and she should be assigned to the west seventh section in the palace. [This suggestion] was complied with. The Ministry of Ceremony also proposed that [since] Japan had used three ships formerly for her tribute goods, and since there was only one ship this time, the silver coins given should be made proportional to the number of ships. Besides, since [its embassy] had come without a memorial to the Throne, the Board said that it requested the Court to decide whether or not an Imperial response should be made.

In the spring of the fifth year (1510), King Minamoto Yoshizumi<sup>86</sup> sent his envoy, Sō Sokyō [in Chinese, Sung Su-ch'ing],<sup>87</sup> with the tribute. It was at this time that Liu Chin<sup>88</sup> had come into power through intrigue and he accepted one thousand liang of gold and bestowed [on the envoy] the robe with a flying fish -- an unprecedented thing. Sokyō was the son of the Chu family of Yin-hsien and his given name was Kao. When still



a child, he had practiced singing and the Japanese envoy had seen him and liked him. [Now] Kao's paternal uncle, Têng, had owed money [to the Japanese envoy] and gave him Kao in payment. Sokyo now arrived at Soochow as the legitimate envoy and met Têng, so that the matter came to light. According to the statute, this meant death [for Têng]. However, Liu Chin took him under his protection and by saying that Têng had surrendered himself, obtained a reprieve [for him].

In the seventh year (1512), Yoshizumi's envoy again came with tribute.<sup>89</sup> The defense official stationed in Chekiang suggested that in view of the prevalence of robbers at that time in the area around Peking and in Shantung, and in view of the danger that the delegation might be waylaid and robbed, Court permission be requested to hold the tribute merchandise in the government storehouse in Chekiang, but to accept the memorial to the Throne and send it up to the capital. The officials of the Board of Ceremony held a conference with the Board of War about this matter and asked the Court to give instructions to the commanding officer at Nanking to offer a banquet and gifts [to the envoy] in that place and then to send him home; and also to give the full price for all the tribute merchandise he had brought, so as not to alienate the good-will of the foreigners. This request was complied with.

In the fifth month of the second year of Chia-ching (1523),<sup>90</sup> the envoy Sosetsu arrived at Ningpo with tribute. Soon after, Sō Sokyo, in company with Zuisa, arrived there again. A quarrel arose between them over their true authority.<sup>91</sup> Sokyo bribed the eunuch of the port, Lai Ên, so that at the banquet given, Sokyo was seated above Sosetsu. Despite the late arrival of the former's ship, it was given priority in the inspection and release. Sosetsu became angry and in a combat killed Zuisa and set fire to his ship. [Then] he pursued Sokyo to the walled city of Shao-hsing.<sup>92</sup> Sokyo had a narrow escape and sought shelter elsewhere. [But] his unruly band came back to Ningpo,



starting fires and causing havoc wherever they passed. They took prisoner Yüan Chin, the police magistrate, captured his boat and went out to sea. The chief of sea patrol, Liu Chin, went after them, only to drown in the battle.

The circuit censor, Ou Chu,<sup>93</sup> duly sent in a report to the Court, adding [as follows]: "According to Sokyo's statement, there is a certain Tara Yoshioki<sup>94</sup> on the western sea route who is under Japanese jurisdiction. This man has never brought tribute to the Court. Because the tribute ship had to come by the western sea route as a matter of necessity, the tally of the Chêng-tê era had been stolen. Thus he [Sokyo] had been compelled to bring the tally of the Hung-shih era and to come by the southern sea route. By the time his ship had reached Ning-po, an accusation was made of the deceit which had led to the squabble." This matter was submitted to the consideration of the Board of Ceremony. The Board came to the following conclusion: "It is considered that Sokyo's words can hardly be trusted and he should not be permitted to visit the Court. But the trouble was started by Sosetsu and Sokyo's party suffered death in large numbers. Though Sokyo had once been a transgressor of the law of expatriation, still he had obtained a pardon from the Court of the last Emperor. Wherefore, without reopening the accusation, instructions may simply be given for him to return home. At the same time, a written message should be sent to the King of Japan ordering him to investigate what has become of the tallies and to administer justice accordingly." The Emperor gave his approval to this counsel. The censor Hsiung Lan and supervising censor Chang Ch'ung<sup>95</sup> wrote memorials to the effect that Sokyo's offense was too serious for him to be let off thus, and that Lai Ên should be brought to justice, as well as Chang Ch'in,<sup>96</sup> assistant official of the sea-circuit, Chu Wu-yang, regional commander, Hsü Tan, regional assistant, and Chang Hao, police magistrate. The memorials also advised that the port be closed and the tribute discontinued in order to restore the prestige of the country and in order to put an



end to the trickery of the treacherous raiders.

When this recommendation was about to be carried out, it so happened that the boat which was carrying Nakabayashi Magotaro [and others] of Sosetsu's band was blown to Korea by a gale as they were escaping. The Koreans beheaded thirty and captured two alive whom they presented to the Court.

The supervising censor Hsia Yŕn<sup>97</sup> then recommended that the two in chains be taken to Chekiang, where the local officer of justice could try them, together with Sokyo. Thereupon the supervising censor Liu Mu<sup>98</sup> and the censor Wang Tao<sup>99</sup> went to that place. By the fourth year (1525), the trial was completed. Both Sokyo and Nakabayashi Magotaro were sentenced to death and kept in prison. As a result of protracted imprisonment, both wasted away and died.

At this time Chêng Shêng, an envoy from Liu-chiu, was [just] returning home. He was ordered to convey instructions to Japan to arrest and extradite Sosetsu and also to send home Yüan Chin and other men from the coast region whom the Japanese had captured; otherwise the ports would be closed, the tribute suspended, and in time a campaign [of war] planned.

In the ninth year (1530), a certain Liu-chiu envoy, Ts'ai Han, came [to China] by way of Japan. King Minamoto Yoshiharu<sup>10</sup> entrusted to him a memorial to the Court which read [as follows]: "Because our country is in turmoil and recurring warfare obstructs communications, the tally of the Chêng-tê era failed to reach the capital. That was the reason why Sokyo had to go with the tally of the Hung-chih era. For this we beg your forgiveness. It is hoped that a new tally will be granted, as well as a gold seal, so that the tribute can be resumed regularly."

When the officer of the Ministry of Ceremony examined this paper, [he found that] it was without a signature. Then he proposed that since the Japanese were too deceitful and treacherous to be trusted, it might be well for the Court to tell the King



of Liu-chiu to convey instructions to Japan to carry out the previous order.

In the seventh month of the eighteenth year (1539), Yoshiharu's tribute envoy arrived at Ningpo.<sup>101</sup> The local official made a report to the Court accordingly. It was seventeen years since the tribute had come, and so a special order was given to the circuit censor to direct three local commissioners to ascertain the true state of affairs -- whether or not the delegation was loyal, obedient and law-abiding. If so, they were to be treated according to precedent and sent home. Otherwise, they were to be told peremptorily to return home. At the same time, the ban against contact of the coast people with foreigners was to be stringently enforced.

In the second month of the following year (1540), the party of the tribute envoy Sekitei<sup>102</sup> reached the capital and repeated the previous request, asking the Court to give them a new tally of the Chia-ching era, and also to return Sokyo and the tribute merchandise sequestered by the officials. The advice of the Board of Ceremony was that the tally should not be hastily granted, but that the old one might be exchanged for the new one; the tribute might come every ten years, but the party should not exceed a hundred men and the ships should be only three [in number]; the rest of their request should not be granted. An edict was issued in accordance with this advice.

In the seventh month of the twenty-third year (1544), the tribute arrived again.<sup>103</sup> It was not yet time for it, and it was without a memorial. The official of the Ministry [of Ceremony] recommended that it should not be accepted and accordingly it was rejected. The envoy, however, lingered about near the shore because the trade brought profit, and would not go home. The circuit censor, Kao Chieh,<sup>104</sup> requested that [the Court] deal with the officials and officers, civil and military, of the seacoast for their offenses and strictly forbid the big clan-destine traders from establishing contact [with foreigners] and



carrying on transactions secretly. But the greedy Chinese dealers, because of the profit they realized from this trade, were willing accomplices. Thus it was impossible to put an end to [the trading].

In the sixth month of the twenty-sixth year (1547), the circuit censor, Yang Chiu-tsê,<sup>105</sup> recommended as follows: "The Chekiang prefectures of Ning, Shao, T'ai, and Wên, all bordering the sea, are contiguous to Fu, Hsing, Chang, and Ch'üan, prefectures of Fukien. Because of piratical raids, they all have guards and forts established with patrolling officers and defense commanders. Still sea marauders make their appearance without notice, and the officials of those two provinces find it impossible to put up concerted defense. It seems advisable that, as in former days, an important Court official be especially appointed to the defense post, who shall have all the affairs of the maritime prefectures under unified control. Power vested in one man would command more prestige and bring better results." The Court gave approval [to this plan], whereupon the vice-president of the censorate, Chu Wan,<sup>106</sup> was appointed as governor of Chekiang and also as commander-in-chief of five armies in Fu, Hsing, Chang, Ch'üan, and Chien-ning.

Shortly after that King Yoshiharu sent Shuryō<sup>107</sup> as envoy. The embassy arrived ahead of time with four ships and with six hundred men. They anchored off the coast to wait there until the next year when the tribute was due. The defense officer held them but they explained that the wind was the reason [for their early arrival]. In the eleventh month, this event came to the notice [of the Court]. Because of the arrival [of the embassy] ahead of time in violation of the regulation, and also because of its exceeding the stipulated number both of crew and of ships, the Emperor issued an edict to the port officials ordering that [it] be sent home.

In the twelfth month, the Wa pirates raided the two prefectures of Ning and T'ai,<sup>108</sup> killing and looting ruthlessly.



The [military] officers and [civilian] officials of the two counties were indicted on this account.

In the sixth month of the following year (1548), Shuryō came again and asked for the resumption of the tribute. Wan made a report accordingly. The Ministry of Ceremony recommended as follows: "Japan has violated the stipulation as to the time and also as to the number of ships and crew; but the words of the memorial are respectful and obedient. Besides, the time stipulated for the tribute is not so far away. We might make a sweeping refusal, but after all, their trouble in making a protracted voyage deserves sympathy. It might be well to be somewhat tolerant, bearing in mind as a lesson the case of Sosetsu and Sokyo. It might be advisable to instruct Wan to follow the precedent of the eighteenth year and send up fifty men [to the Court], keeping the rest at the guest house and consoling them with additional gifts as a persuasion to return home. As for private transactions and emergency measures, they may well be left to the discretion of Wan."

This counsel was approved. Wan, however, asserted that fifty was too small a number and that a hundred should be allowed to proceed to the capital. The Department decided to grant gifts only to this hundred, and that the rest should be left without any awards. [But] Shuryō made an appeal, saying that the ship carrying the tribute was so tall and spacious that a crew of five hundred was indispensable in order to man it; besides, Chinese merchantmen on the high seas often hid themselves behind islets to practice piracy. One ship had therefore been added as a convoy to defend against aggression; no regulation at all had been violated. The Ministry then recommended that the grant of gifts be extended, adding also that since the regulation not to exceed one hundred men might be difficult to carry out in the present state of affairs in the country, it might be well to make inspection of the size of the ships before proceeding to apply the regulation. This



recommendation was followed.

Japan formerly kept about two hundred tallies which had been given under the two reigns of Hsiao and Wu.<sup>109</sup> When the last envoy had brought over the tribute and requested that the tallies be changed for new ones, he was ordered to hand in the old ones. [But] this time [Shu]ryō brought fifteen tallies of the Hung-chih era and explained that the rest had been stolen from the hands of Sokyo and that there was no way of recovering them. As to the tallies of the Chêng-tê era, he had left fifteen of them at home for [future] identification and brought forty to hand over. The Ministry advised that in the future instructions be given to bring in all old ones and that only then would new ones be given in exchange. This recommendation was reported as approved.

At this time when the King of Japan was sending over tribute, the Wa of the different islands were incessantly raiding and looting the seacoast;<sup>110</sup> and the greedy traders were often involved [in these raids]. Wan therefore issued a proclamation saying that the ban against intercourse [with the Wa] would be stringently enforced. Those who were caught in clandestine transactions would instantly be put to death without waiting for order from the Court. Now influential families of Chekiang and Fukien, who had been the Chinese connivers with Japanese piracy, were thus deprived of their profit and were very much aggrieved against Wan. Wan also from time to time wrote appeals to the Court dignitaries advising of the connivance of the rich traders with the pirates. On that account, the people of Min<sup>111</sup> and of Chê all hated him -- the Min people being especially resentful. The circuit censor, Chou Liang, who was a native of Min, wrote an appeal to the Court in which he criticized Wan and requested that the office of governor be changed to that of superintendent of police in order to curtail Wan's power. Partisans of Chou in the service of the Court supported him and in the end his request was complied with. Deprived of



his office, Wan was arrested on the charge of putting people to death arbitrarily. Wan [then] committed suicide. After that, a governor was not appointed for four years, so that maritime restrictions became lax again and irregularities steadily increased.

In Chekiang, the office of Commissioner of Ports had been created by the first [Ming] Emperor and a eunuch appointed as chief official to be stationed at Ningpo and regulate prices upon the arrival of ships. Thus the control of trade had always been kept in the hands of the Court. [But] in the reign of Shih Tsung, all eunuchs stationed at various posts in the country were withdrawn, as well as the Port Commissioner. The way was thus opened for the greedy traders of the seacoast to get their hands on the profit. At first, the market still retained the semblance of a place of trade, but when the ban on transactions with foreigners came to be strictly enforced, the market was moved into the household of an important official. Failure to make payment became increasingly prevalent. When the buyer was pressed hard for payment, he would intimidate [the seller] with threats or would deceive him with fair words; and in the end he would say he owed nothing. Thus the Japanese lost their merchandise. Being unable to recover it, they became exceedingly resentful.

Rebel leaders such as Wang Chih,<sup>112</sup> Hsü Hai, Ch'ên Tung, and Ma Yeh were originally of the same breed [as these illicit traders]. Because in their own country [of China] they were unable to obtain what they wanted, they had made their way over the sea to the islands to become gang leaders. The Wa listened to them and were persuaded by them to start raids. Then these buccaneer chiefs, donning Japanese robes with Japanese ornaments and insignia, came in various craft to loot their native land. As the profit was always enormous, trouble with these pirates became worse day by day.

By decision of the Court, the office of governor was in-



stituted, and in the seventh month of the thirty-first year (1552), Wang Yü,<sup>113</sup> president of the censorate, was appointed to the post. But by that time, the situation was already such as to make complete subjugation of piracy well nigh impossible.

Thus in the early Ming period, all along the strategic points of the seacoast, guard-houses and forts had been erected and war craft made ready with a first captain, a superintendent of police, and the regional commandant in command; [thus] governmental control became thorough and strict. However, because of the protracted peace that followed, ships fell into decay and guard-posts were deserted. When the alarm was sounded, fishing boats were recruited to help in scouting and patrolling; but the soldiers were not well trained and the boats were not built for this particular purpose. At the sight of a buccaneer's ships, the guards ran to seek a hiding place. Besides, there was no one at their head to give command, so that wherever the pirates sailed, there was nothing but defeat and desolation in their wake.

In the third month of the thirty-second year (1553), Wang Chih induced various Japanese pirates to join him and started [an invasion] in great force. Craft after craft, many hundreds in number, arrived like clouds over the water. From east to west of Chê, and from north to south of the Kiang,<sup>114</sup> many thousands of li of the seacoast sounded the alarm all at once. The fort at Ch'ang-kuo<sup>115</sup> suffered defeat. In the fourth month, T'ai-ts'ang was raided, Shang-hai hsien was defeated, Chiang-yin<sup>116</sup> was looted, and Ch'a-p'u<sup>117</sup> was attacked. In the eighth month, the guard-post at Chin-shan<sup>118</sup> was threatened, Ch'ung-ming [island], Ch'ang-shu, and Chia-ting<sup>119</sup> were raided.

In the first month of the thirty-third year (1554), [the pirates], starting from T'ai-ts'ang, looted Soochow and attacked Sung-chiang.<sup>120</sup> Again, running over to the north of the Kiang, they pressed on to T'ung and T'ai.<sup>121</sup> During the fourth month, they captured Chia-shan<sup>122</sup> and broke through



Ch'ung-ming, again pressed into Soochow and entered Ch'ung-tê hsien.<sup>123</sup> In the sixth month, marching along the Wu Kiang, they looted Chia-hsing, and retraced their way to Chê-lin.<sup>124</sup> They encamped there as their base of action, and moved around in all directions just as though they were invading an uninhabited land. Yü was unable to do anything. After a while, Yü was transferred to the post at Ta-t'ung and Li T'ien-ch'ung<sup>125</sup> took his place. Then the President of the Board of War, Chang Ching,<sup>126</sup> was ordered to take entire charge of military affairs and to draft armies from all sides on a large scale in order to launch a concerted attack. By that time, the pirates had made the river basin of Ch'uan-sha<sup>127</sup> and Chê-lin their headquarters and were looting and plundering in all directions.

In the first month of the year following (1555), the marauders seized ships, attacked Ch'a-p'u and Hai-ning, and captured Ch'ung-tê. Then they turned to loot T'ang-chi, Hsin-shih, Hêng-t'ang, and Shuang-lin at various points, and attacked Tê-ch'ing hsien.<sup>128</sup>

During the fifth month, uniting with a new force of pirates, they forged their way onward to attack Chia-hsing, and reached Wang-chiang-ching.<sup>129</sup> There they were defeated by Ching, who beheaded more than nineteen hundred of them and drove away the rest to Chê-lin.

There was another band of pirates who were looting the borders of Soochow to points as far distant as Chiang-yin and Wu-sih, and who were roving in and out of T'ai-hu.<sup>130</sup> Generally only about three-tenths of these [pirates] were real Japanese, while seven-tenths were [others] who followed them. When the Japanese fought, they drove those whom they had captured in their vanguard. Their discipline was stern and they all fought to the death; but the government forces were effeminate and cowardly and always gave way and ran.

The Emperor thereupon sent Chao Wên-hua,<sup>131</sup> Vice-president



of the Board of Works, to superintend the morale of the army. Wên-hua demoted the meritorious and promoted the guilty, so that all the forces became still more demoralized. Both Ching and T'ien-ch'ung were arrested and Chou Ch'ung<sup>132</sup> and Hu Tsung-hsien took over their posts. Within another month Ch'ung resigned and Yang I<sup>133</sup> took his place. It was at this time that the pirates ran amuck far and wide and there was no place in Chê or Kiang that was not overrun. New forces [also] were coming to them in increasing numbers and working havoc with greater abandon. Usually these pirates set fire to their boats before they landed to loot and plunder. Setting out from west of Pei-hsin-kuan<sup>134</sup> of Hang-chou, they robbed Shun-an<sup>135</sup> and stormed Hui-chou and Hsi-hsien. They reached Chi-ch'i and Ching-tê, passed beyond Ching-hsien, and hastened on to Nan-ling and even as far as Wuhu. There they set fires on the south shore. Speeding on to T'ai-p'ing-fu, they attacked the fort of Chiang-ning<sup>136</sup> and [then] straightway carried the raid to Nanking. These Wa pirates, in red attire and yellow umbrellas, and at the head of a large band, attacked the great Gate of Peace and Virtue<sup>137</sup> and the Twin Hills.<sup>138</sup> Then they left Mo-lin-kuan and from Li-shui kept on raiding at random as far as Li-yang and I-hsing. When they heard that the government forces were on their way from Lake T'ai, they went across Wu-chin<sup>139</sup> to Wu-sih and encamped at Hui-shan.<sup>140</sup> Then in a day and a night they sped over a hundred and eighty li to reach Hu-shu,<sup>141</sup> where they were besieged by the government forces. The latter overtook them at Yang-lin ch'iao<sup>142</sup> and annihilated them.

Throughout the raids, the rebels consisted of not more than sixty or seventy men.<sup>143</sup> They trespassed, however, for many thousands of miles, killing and wounding nearly four thousand people. Moreover, eighty days passed before they were subdued. That was in the ninth month of the thirty-fourth year (1555). The Governor of Nanking, Ts'ao Pang-fu,<sup>144</sup> duly made report of the victory to the Court.



Wên-hua was jealous of the exploits [of the government forces]. As the Wa pirates still kept their headquarters in T'ao-chê,<sup>145</sup> he took the opportunity to summon forces from Chê and Chih,<sup>146</sup> and together with [Hu] Tsung-hsien, took personal command of the army. At the same time making an agreement with Pang-fu for a concerted attack by different roads, he marched to Chuan-ch'iao<sup>147</sup> [tiled bridge] at Sung-kiang and encamped there. [Then] the pirates made a sudden attack with all their strength. Wên-hua was finally badly defeated and became disheartened, whereas the rebels waxed all the more aggressive.

In the tenth month, the pirates landed at Lo-ch'ing<sup>148</sup> and ransacked Huang-yen, Hsien-chü, Fêng-hua, Yü-yao, and Shang-yü;<sup>149</sup> the killed and captured were countless in number. Only when they reached Ch'êng-hsien were they annihilated. This band, too, consisted of less than two hundred, yet they penetrated far inland to the three prefectural centers.<sup>150</sup> Fifty days passed before they were subdued.

A short time before, another gang had started looting from Jih-chao in Shantung,<sup>151</sup> carrying their raids to Tung-an-wei, and they penetrated to Huai-an, Kan-yü, Mu-yang, and T'ao-yüan. When they reached Ch'ing-ho,<sup>152</sup> rain worked against them and they were annihilated by the government forces of Hsü P'ei. The gang was not more than several tens in number, but the damage they did extended tens of hundreds of miles and they killed and slaughtered more than a thousand. Such was their ruthlessness.

After the defeat at the tiled bridge, Wên-hua saw the formidable character of the raiders' might. Those who had moved from Chê-lin to Chou-p'u<sup>153</sup> and those who had encamped at the old camp in Ch'uan-sha or by the Kao-ch'iao [tall bridge] of Chia-ting,<sup>154</sup> were the same in their way of attacking and raiding -- they did not give a day of respite. Then Wên-hua, giving the pretext that the pirates were brought into subjection, requested that he be recalled to the Court.



In the second month of the following year (1556), [Yang] I was dismissed, [Hu] Tsung-hsien taking his place, and Yüan 0<sup>155</sup> was appointed governor of Chekiang.

Thereupon Tsung-hsien requested the Court that an envoy be dispatched to Japan, in order, first, to advise the King of Japan to ban or subdue the island raiders, and also at the same time to summon home those rebellious Chinese traders who had been conniving with foreigners. [These traders] would be permitted to atone for their offense by rendering distinctive service. Thus an understanding was obtained and finally young men of Ningpo, Chiang Chou and Ch'ên K'o-yüan, were sent over [to Japan].

On his return [to China], K'o-yüan said that upon reaching Gotō [in Kyūshū], he had met with Wang Chih and Mao Hai-fêng, who had told him that during internal warfare in Japan both the King and the premier had died, so that the various islands were no longer unified and were out of control. It had become necessary to give specific instructions to each locality to put an end to depredations. He also said that there was a certain province of Satsuma from whence raiders already had set sail [for China]; but that these people of Satsuma said that raiding was not their real object. The resumption of the tribute and of trade was what they desired, and they had expressed willingness to kill the pirates in order to make clear their own sincerity. So he had left Chou there to carry instructions to the various islands and he, K'o-yüan, had been escorted home. Tsung-hsien made a report accordingly. The Board of War recommended as follows: "As Chih and the others are duly registered subjects and say they are loyal and obedient, it is only proper that they should disband their forces; but without a word about that, they have asked for resumption of trade and of the tribute. Their actions resemble those of outlanders from across the sea. Moreover, their treachery is unpredictable. It behoves the government to issue



commands to the officials concerned to uphold the national prestige by strict attention to military preparedness and defense, and at the same time to send notice to Chih and all the others to clean up the pirates' nest in Chou-shan<sup>156</sup> as an act of vindication. In case the seacoast is entirely cleaned up, gifts and favors might be in order." This recommendation was acted upon.

By this time, the two Chê<sup>157</sup> were suffering because of the pirates. Loss of life by fire in Tz'ü-ch'i<sup>158</sup> was particularly tragic. Only second [in suffering] was Yü-yao. In western Chê, Chê-lin, Ch'a-p'u, Wu-chên, and Tsao-lin all became the haunts of pirates and the number of raiders was estimated to be over twenty thousand altogether. Tsung-hsien was ordered to make plans immediately to meet the situation.

In the seventh month, Tsung-hsien advised [the Court] that after Ch'ên K'o-yüan's return home [from Japan], Mao Hai-fêng, the rebel ringleader, had defeated the Japanese pirates once at Chou-shan and a second time at Li-piao.<sup>159</sup> He had also sent his partisans to convey the government's instructions and all the islands, one after the other, had become obedient and loyal. [Tsung-hsien] requested the grant of a substantial reward [for Mao]. The Department told Tsung-hsien to act according to expediency. At this time, Hsü Hai, Ch'ên Tung, and Ma Yeh were together laying siege to T'ung-hsiang.<sup>160</sup> By a certain scheme Tsung-hsien set them against each other, so that in the end Hai captured Tung and Yeh, and surrendered. The rest of the two latter's followers were annihilated at Ch'a-p'u. Shortly after, Hai also was attacked at Liang-chuang.<sup>161</sup> He was killed and his followers were destroyed. Thus the pirates in Kiang-nan and in Chê-hsi were nearly all subdued.

To the north of the Yangtze, the pirates [now] made inroads as far as Tan-yang.<sup>162</sup> They raided Kua-chou and set fire to boats and junks. In the following spring, they raided Ju-kao and Hai-mên, attacked T'ung-chou, and looted Kao-yu in Yang-



chou. They entered Pao-ying and finally ransacked the city of Huai-an. Then they collected their forces in Miao Bay.<sup>163</sup> Only in the following year were they subdued.

The pirates in eastern Chê, who had their haunts in the Chou-shan islands, were also attacked by the government forces at about the same period.

Some time before, Chiang Chou, who had proclaimed instructions to the various islands, reached Bungo<sup>164</sup> and was held there. He therefore caused a certain monk to go to Yamaguchi and other islands to convey instructions that raids should be ended. Thereupon the governor-general of Yamaguchi, Minamoto Yoshinaga,<sup>165</sup> sent [to the Court] a letter of explanation, and at the same time sent home the men held as captives. In this letter he used the King's seal.<sup>166</sup> The governor of Bungo, Minamoto Yoshishige,<sup>167</sup> sent the monk, Tokuyo, with indigenous products. [Tokuyo] carried with him a memorial with an apology for offenses and also with a request that a tally for the tribute be granted. Chou was escorted home.

A certain Chêng Shun-hung, who had been sent by Yang I out to sea as a scout, had also reached the island of Bungo. The chief of this island then sent the monk Seiju [to China] in Chêng's boat. Upon his arrival, he asked pardon for the raids and aggression which had taken place, saying that they all without exception had been caused by the wicked Chinese traders who had secretly lured on the seafarers of the island. Of this, he said, Yoshishige had been entirely ignorant.

Then Tsung-hsien wrote an explanatory report to the Court, saying: "Chou has been in Japan for two years carrying out his instructions and visiting the two islands of Bungo and Yamaguchi. [Yet] now some are here with tribute but do not bring the seal and the tally, and others come with the seal but not in the name of the King. In neither case [do they act] in accord with our regulations. However, the fact that they sent the tribute and returned the captives indicates that they have



guilty consciences and wish to ask forgiveness. It would be well, therefore, to treat the envoys with cordiality and send them home with orders to Yoshishige and Yoshinaga to have instructions forwarded to the King of Japan to arrest the leaders of the raids and to offer them to the Court, together with the wicked Chinese traders, [and to say that] then the resumption of commerce would be permitted." This the Court approved.

When Wang Chih dominated the islands, his partisans, Wang Ao, Yeh Tsung-man, Hsieh Ho, and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i had each his own band of pirates to make himself formidable. The Court offered the rank of earl and ten thousand pieces of gold as a reward for the capture of [Wang Chih] but without success.

By this time, however, the government forces of China were quite well prepared, so that the pirates, ruthless though they were, were killed in great numbers. There was one instance in which not a single man from an entire island returned alive. [The islanders] often bore enmity toward Chih, so that he gradually began to worry about his own safety.

Now Tsung-hsien hailed from the same district as Chih. He had let Chih's mother and his wife and servants live at Hang-chou, and dispatched Chiang Chou with a letter from Chih's family inviting him to come home. When Chih learned that his family and dependents were all safe and well, he was greatly moved. Yoshishige and others also were highly elated because of China's permission to reopen trade. They prepared a large ship and sent a subordinate, Zemmyo,<sup>168</sup> and a party of more than forty people with tribute and merchandise to accompany Chih and his party home.

Early in the tenth month of the thirty-sixth year (1557), the ship reached the port of Ch'ên in the Chou-shan islands. Officers and officials took it for a raider and lined up the guards for battle. Chih thereupon sent Wang Ao to have an interview with Tsung-hsien and ask him why they were greeted with martial display when they had returned home in good faith.



[Now this] Ao was none other than Mao Hai-fêng, the adopted son of Chih. Tsung-hsien tried his utmost to placate him; placing his hand on his heart, he swore that he was sincere. But then, when Zemmyo saw Colonel Lu Tang<sup>169</sup> in the Chou-shan Islands, the latter gave orders that Chih be captured and handed over to him. This speech leaked out and Chih became more suspicious. Tsung-hsien tried every possible means to convince him otherwise; but still distrustful, Chih told him to let Wang Ao return and then he would go to see him [Tsung-hsien]. Tsung-hsien immediately let Ao return. Chih then asked to be given an important official as hostage. Hsia Chêng, police magistrate, was immediately ordered to go. Chih now thought [Tsung-hsien's action] was convincing. Accompanied by Yeh Tsung-man and Wang Ch'ing-ch'i, he came over to see Tsung-hsien, to the great satisfaction of the latter. Tsung-hsien treated him most cordially and arranged to let him have an interview with the circuit censor, Wang Pên-ku,<sup>170</sup> at Hang-chou. Pên-ku, however, turned him over to the government officials. At this news, Ao and the others became highly resentful. They decapitated Hsia Chêng, set fire to the ship, climbed the hill, and made the port of Ch'ên their base of action. They put up a strong defense until the following year (1558), when reinforcements of pirates arrived in great numbers. Then they carried their raids into the three prefectures of eastern Chê. Those who had been in the port of Ch'ên they moved quietly over to Ko-hai.<sup>171</sup> They built new ships and sailed out to the open sea. Tsung-hsien did not go after them.

In the eleventh month (1557) the pirates set sail southward. Anchoring off an outlying islet off the coast of Ch'üan-chou,<sup>172</sup> they sacked Tung-an, Hui-an, Nan-an<sup>173</sup> and other districts. They attacked Ning-chou in Fu and overran Fu-an and Ning-tê.<sup>174</sup> In the fourth month of the following year (1558), they laid siege to Foochow for more than a month. They attacked and burned Fu-ch'ing, Yung-fu,<sup>175</sup> and other areas. They spread out as far as Hsing-hua<sup>176</sup> and sped on to strike



Chang-chou. Now the seat of all these troubles with pirates moved to Fukien, and also to the region of Ch'ao<sup>177</sup> and Kuang. Alarms of raids sounded often and loud.

When the fortieth year came (1561), the pirates of eastern Chê and northern Kiang were subdued one after the other. Then Tsung-hsien was arrested because of an act of complicity.

In the eleventh month of the following year (1562), the military headquarters at Hsing-hua surrendered and massacre and pillage were rampant. Then the pirates moved their base of action to P'ing-hai-wei<sup>178</sup> and remained there.

When the Wa had made inroads in Chekiang, they had been victorious against departments [chou] and districts [hsien] in more than one hundred encounters; but they so far had never subdued a prefectural city [fu]. This news, therefore, inspired terror far and wide.

Generals Yü Tai-yu, Ch'i Chi-kuang and Liu Hsien<sup>179</sup> were summoned in haste to the Court. Then in concerted attacks, they subdued the pirates. Those who had made inroads in other states and prefectures were also defeated by these generals. Fukien was also pacified.

Later, powerful pirate chiefs of Kuangtung, such as Tsêng I-pên and Huang Chao-t'ai, all managed to get Japanese pirates on their side; and during the Lung-ch'ing era (1567-1572),<sup>180</sup> they vanquished various forts at Chieh-shih and Chia-tzû,<sup>181</sup> made inroads in the Shih-ch'êng district in Hua-chou and subdued the forts of Chin-nang-so<sup>182</sup> and Shên-tien.<sup>183</sup> Such districts as Wu-ch'uan, Mou-ming, Hai-fêng, Hsin-ning and Hui-lai, all suffered fire and pillage. Turning aside also into the three prefectures of Lei, Lien, and Ch'iung,<sup>184</sup> they made the border region suffer.

During the second year of Wan-li (1574),<sup>185</sup> they attacked four prefectures of eastern Chê -- Ning, Shao, T'ai, and Wên.



Then in Kuangtung, T'ung-ku-wei and Shuang-yü-so<sup>186</sup> fell into their hands.

In the third year (1575), they made inroads in Tien-pai.<sup>187</sup>

In the fourth year (1576), they made inroads in Ting-nai.

In the eighth year (1580), they made inroads to Chiu-shan<sup>188</sup> in Chekiang and also over to the P'êng-hu<sup>189</sup> and Tung-yung islands off Fukien.

In the tenth year (1582), they made inroads in Wên-chou and also in Kuangtung.

In the sixteenth year (1588), they made inroads in Chekiang; but this time, because of the lesson learned in the troubles of the Chia-ching era, the coast officials kept the maritime defense in good condition, so that the pirates lost ground promptly. Those who were making inroads in Kuangtung under the leadership of the sea bandit, Liang Pên-hao, were the most formidable. The Governor-general of the province, Ch'ên Jui,<sup>190</sup> mobilized all forces available and attacked them. He beheaded over six hundred and sunk more than a hundred of their junks. Pên-hao himself was beheaded.

The Emperor took this occasion to offer thanksgiving at the shrine of the Imperial ancestors, proclaiming the victory and accepting congratulations at the same time.

From times of old, Japan has had a king. Below him, the title of kwampaku is the one most respected. At this time, Nobunaga,<sup>192</sup> head of the province of Yamashiro, was kwampaku. One day while out hunting, he came upon a man lying beneath a tree, who, when suddenly awakened, jumped to his feet and ran into him. When this man was caught and reprimanded, he said he was Taira Hideyoshi,<sup>193</sup> the servant of a man of Satsuma. Hale, strong, agile, and alert -- he was clever too in speech. Very much pleased, Nobunaga put him in charge of his steed, calling him Kinoshita -- "man beneath the tree." He was gradually given more responsibility and developed a plan on behalf of



Nobunaga to capture more than twenty provinces. He was appointed Commandant-general of Settsu.<sup>194</sup>

There was a staff-officer by the name of Akechi<sup>195</sup> who was indicted for a crime. Nobunaga ordered Hideyoshi to head an army and attack him. But all of a sudden, Nobunaga was assassinated by the lieutenant, Akechi. Hideyoshi at that time had already defeated Akechi. When he was informed of the incident, he turned back with his lieutenant, Yukinaga,<sup>196</sup> and, carried on by the momentum of victory, fought [with Akechi] and killed him.<sup>197</sup> His prestige was thereby firmly established. [Then] he went on to dispose of the three sons of Nobunaga. Arbitrarily calling himself kwampaku, he took over their forces as his own. This was the fourteenth year of Wan-li (1586).

Carrying his arms farther and farther, he conquered sixty-six provinces. By means of threats, also, he compelled Liu-chiu, Luzon, Portugal,<sup>198</sup> and Siam to send envoys with tribute.<sup>199</sup> Then he rebuilt the mountain castle where the King used to live and made it into an enormous Court. He erected large castles and stockades, built mansions and pavilions -- some nine storeys high -- and filled them with beautiful women and rare treasures. He was stern in justice and in his military operations there were only advances -- never retreats. All who did otherwise, even his own son and son-in-law, were put to death. Thus wherever he went, he was unconquerable.

When the era changed to Bunroku,<sup>200</sup> he thought he would attack China and [also] subjugate Korea and make it his own. He summoned the remnant of Wang Chih's followers in order to obtain information and learned that the Chinese were as afraid of the Japanese as of tigers. Waxing all the more arrogant, he made a large-scale preparation of arms and armor and made repairs of ships and boats. He held conferences with his subordinates in order to map out an invasion of China. For [the invasion of] Peking, the plan was to employ Koreans as guides. As for Chê and Min and other coastal provinces, the plan was to



use Chinese. But since he was aware that the people of Liu-chiu might let the information leak out, he gave orders to suspend their visit with tribute.

[Now] a native of T'ung-an,<sup>201</sup> a certain Ch'ên Chia, was in Liu-chiu on business. He became worried lest disaster should be brought to China. In collaboration with Chêng-hui, the recorder of Liu-chiu, he sent detailed information home by an envoy who was visiting China with tribute and also with a request for the formal installation of the King. Chia also returned to his native village and offered information himself to the Governor, Chao Ts'an-lu.<sup>202</sup> Ts'an-lu made a report accordingly [to the Court]. The Court referred the matter to the Board of War and sent a formal letter of inquiry to the King of Korea. The [Korean] King then took pains to explain that it was not true that he was furnishing guides [for Japan]. He was still unaware of the fact that the plan was also aimed against him.

When Hideyoshi first gathered fighting men from all the local military headquarters and collected provisions for a three year's campaign, he desired to head the invasion of China in person. However, his son died, and he had no brother. [Besides] he had previously taken away the wife of the governor of the island of Bungo and made her his concubine, and he was worried lest trouble might ensue. In addition, all the local chiefs in the country harbored resentment against Hideyoshi's despotism and all said that his campaign was not to attack China but to attack them. Since everyone was so antagonistic [to his ideas] Hideyoshi did not dare go in person.

In the fourth month of the twentieth year (1592), his generals, Kiyomasa,<sup>203</sup> Yukinaga,<sup>204</sup> and Yoshitomo,<sup>205</sup> and the monks Ganso<sup>206</sup> and Shuetsu,<sup>207</sup> were dispatched at the head of a fleet many hundred ships strong.<sup>208</sup> Going across the sea by way of Tsushima, they captured Kim-san in Korea, and taking advantage of this initial victory, drove forward rapidly. In



the fifth month, they crossed the bay, harassed Kaesŏng, and made various prefectures of P'ungdok surrender. Korea was entirely swept off her feet. Kiyomasa and his men pressed on vigorously toward the capital. The King of Korea Yi Yŏn, left his castle and hastened to Pyŏngyang and then to Uiju. Emissaries arrived [at the Court] one after the other with reports of imminent danger. The Japanese finally entered the capital and made the Queen and Prince prisoners. After a hot pursuit [of the King], the Japanese reached Pyŏngyang. There the soldiers were let loose to rape and pillage.

In the seventh month, Assistant-brigade-general Tsu Ch'êng-hsün, was ordered to go with reinforcements. He fought with the Japanese outside the castle of Pyŏngyang and met a heavy defeat. Ch'êng-hsün himself had a narrow escape.

In the eighth month, the Chinese Court appointed Vice-minister of War, Sung Ying-ch'ang,<sup>209</sup> as Commander-in-Chief of the expeditionary forces, and Li Ju-sung<sup>210</sup> as Admiral to lead the campaign. Ning-hsia still remained unsubdued when these things took place in Korea and the Minister of War, Shih Hsing,<sup>212</sup> did not know what to do. A volunteer who could speak Japanese was sought to feel out the situation. A man from Chia-hsing,<sup>213</sup> Shên Wei-ching, offered himself. Shih gave him the commission of Acting General-at-large and assigned him, with special instructions, to serve under Ju-sung.

The following year, Ju-sung's forces gained a great victory at Pyŏngyang and recovered four circuits lost before. Taking advantage of this victory, Ju-sung marched rapidly to Pokyegwan, where, however, he met defeat and beat a retreat.

Then discussions began, regarding the installations [of the King] and regarding tribute. The Chinese Court tried to patch up matters. Through Shên Wei-ching an agreement was reached on peace terms, the details of which will be found in the History of Korea.<sup>214</sup>



After some time, Hideyoshi passed away<sup>215</sup> and all the Japanese set sail and returned home. Thus Korea's troubles came to an end.

The invasion [of Korea] by the kwampaku lasted nearly seven years. Casualties in the war exceeded many hundred thousand; wasted supplies amounted to many millions. Though China and Korea fought hand in hand, they had no chance of victory. Only the death of the kwampaku brought the calamities of warfare to an end and sent the Japanese forces back to their insular retreat. Then the east and the south began to enjoy a period of undisturbed peace.

Hideyoshi's line came to an end in the second generation. To the end of the Ming dynasty, however, the regulation forbidding intercourse with the Japanese was strictly enforced. At the very mention of Japanese, the people in the street became so excited that women and children held their breath in alarm.

#### NOTES

1. The Ming shih, or History of the Ming (1368-1644), in 336 chüan (hereafter abbreviated to MS) was compiled according to official accounts by a board of editors headed by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 (1672-1755). Actually the task of compilation, ordered 1645, began tentatively in 1646, and was announced to be complete in 1736. Publication followed in 1739. The emperor then reigning, however, disapproved of certain sections (the imperial annals in 24 chüan); so he ordered it revised. This task was probably completed in 1782. The Po na pên erh-shih-ssü shih edition is based on the original 1739 edition.
2. Goryūsan, Takashima, an island at the mouth of the Gulf of Imari, off Hizen. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 123, and note 96 under Takashima in the Yüan account above.
3. Kao Huang-ti, the name by which the first emperor of the Ming, Chu Yüan-chang, who reigned under the title Hung-wu (1368-1398), was canonized after his death. His temple name was T'ai-tsu.
4. Fang Kuo-chên, a native of Huan-yen, modern Chekiang province, died in 1374. His biography appears in MS 123:11b-



15b. Chang Shih-ch'êng died in 1367. His biography precedes Fang's in MS 123:6a-11a.

5. This message, which appears in slightly different form in the Ming shih lu (hereafter abbreviated to MSL), is placed in the 2nd month of the 2nd year (MSL, reign of Hung-wu, 37:3b).

6. King Ryōkai 良懷, error for Prince Kanenaga 懷良 (1329 or 1330-1380), the military governor of Kyūshū representing the Southern Court.

Between 1336 and 1392 there were, as a result of a succession dispute, two separate imperial courts, the Northern Court in Kyōto, supported by the military government of the Ashikaga Family, and the Southern Court in Yoshino. Thus, in Kyūshū, besides a number of powerful local lords, there were also a tandai (inquisitor) representing the Northern Court, and a military governor representing the Southern Court. This confusion in political authority is reflected in this account by the erroneous references to "kings" who were, in most cases, only lords or officials of one of the imperial courts.

7. Wên, T'ai, and Ming are all in modern Chekiang.
8. Lai-chou is on the Shantung peninsula. Chao Chih 趙執, whose origin is unknown, had just begun his duties at Lai-chou. See Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻緒 (1645-1723) in the Ming shih kao 128:5a-5b.
9. Sorai. Buddhist monks, skilled in drafting dispatches in Chinese, almost invariably served as ambassadors. But there is little information on some of them, especially those who represented local lords or officials. The reader is referred to a useful table giving the names of all known emissaries who went to China during the Ming period, and other pertinent data, including references, in Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsu-shi, vol. 2, pp. 410-425.
10. Two Japanese monks studying in China at the time served as interpreters for this embassy. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 276-278.
11. Both Hai-yên and Kan-p'u are in modern Chekiang.
12. Yü Hsien 於顯, said to have been good at books, horsemanship, and archery, fell into the good graces of the first Ming emperor by following his fortunes at an early date. In 1373 he was raised to the rank of tu-tu 都督. See the T'u shu chi ch'êng 圖書集成, XIV:63:1b.
13. Têng is on the Shantung peninsula.
14. The "King" referred to here is Prince Kanenaga, but his reasons for detaining the Chinese are not clear. This embassy had gone as far as Saga, near Kyōto. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 276-278.



15. Chiao-chou (Kiau-chow) is on the Shantung peninsula.
16. Jimyō, error for jimyō-in, the name of the Northern branch the imperial family. Cf. note 6 above.
17. Probably Kikuchi Takemasa (1342-1374), who supported Kanenaga and the Southern Court. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 278.
18. Sen Monkei 宣聞溪. In the absence of other references to this priest, the translator has rendered this name as Sen Monkei rather than Semmon Kei as Kimiya has done on the supposition that the Chinese had dropped the first syllable from what was originally a four-syllable name, a practice frequently encountered in Chinese accounts. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 412.
19. Ujihisa (1328-1387) of the powerful Shimazu Family, the lords of Satsuma. Ujihisa, at the time, was shugo ("protector" or "constable") of Ōsumi, a province in southern Kyūshū. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 278. By the 12th century this family controlled more than half the arable area in the three southern provinces of Kyūshū. Cf. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, p. 273, note.
20. Kei Teiyō 老廷用, more correctly Teiyō Bunkei 廷用文桂, who represented Kanenaga. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 413.
21. Yoshimitsu, the third Ashikaga Shōgun, who ruled from 1367 to 1408, although, nominally, he retired in 1395. Minamoto was the name of the clan of which Ashikaga was a branch family. Japanese accounts make no mention of a letter from Yoshimitsu to the Chinese Court at this time. Cf. Akiyama, Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū, p. 452.
22. Probably by the monk Nyoyō representing Kanenaga. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 280. There is likewise no mention in Japanese records of this mission.
23. The three divine ones and five emperors are the legendary founders of Chinese civilization. Cf. Chavannes (translator), Les Mémoires Historiques de Sē-ma Ts'ien. Tome I (Paris, 1895), pp. 1-96.
24. Yao and Shun, legendary emperors.
25. T'ang and Wu, founders respectively of the Shang (ca. 1523 B.C. - ca. 1028 B.C.) and Chou (ca. 1027 B.C. - 256 B.C.) dynasties.
26. Thought by some critics to be one individual. Cf. Lionel Giles (translator), Sun Tzū on the Art of War, the oldest military treatise in the world (London, 1910).
27. Garan, an imaginary mountain.
28. Chin-hsiang in modern Shantung; P'ing-yang in modern



## Chekiang.

29. This was Nyoyō, representing Kanegaga, on his second mission. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 414.
30. Chou Tê-hsing (died 1392), a fellow townsman of the emperor, became marquis of Chiang-hsia in 1370. See MS 105:9a and 132:2b-4a.
31. T'ang Ho (1326-1395), likewise from the same locality, was made duke in 1378. MS 105:7ab and 126:12a-16a. Correct Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 1880.
32. Hu Wei-yung was executed in 1380. Cf. MS 308:2a-5b.
33. Prince Tō Yūji, presumably a Fujiwara, but Japanese records make no mention of him.
34. The Tsu hsün lieh 祖訓錄, actually Tsu hsün t'iao chang lu 條章錄, was a work of 1 chüan. See MS 97:9b.
35. Ch'êng Tsu, temple name of Chu Ti, son of the first emperor, reigned from 1403 to 1424 under the title of Yung-lo.
36. An earlier communication from Hui-ti (reigned 1399-1402) to Yoshimitsu in which he addressed the Shōgun as "King of Japan," and the latter's reply are not mentioned in this account. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 310, 415. See also Akiyama, Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū, p. 455.
37. Chao Chü-jên 趙居任 (died 1419), was a native of Li-shui, Kiangsu province. See Chiao Hung 焦城 (1541-1620), in the Kuo ch'ao hsien chêng lu 67:22a.
38. Dōgi, temple name of Yoshimitsu. The embassy mentioned here was headed by Keimitsu, and sailed from Kyōgo in the third month of 1403. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 310, 415.
39. Yoshimitsu has been denounced by Japanese historians for accepting these gifts, an act which was tantamount to accepting a position of vassalage to China. For a summary of the views of some of the leading Japanese historians, cf. Kuno, Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent, vol. 1, pp. 267-272.
40. The chief of embassy was the monk Myōshitsu 明室, whose party sailed from Hyōgo in the seventh month of 1404. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 310, 416.
41. This tribute-bearing party left Kyōgo in the 8th month of 1404, but the name of the emissary is not known in Japanese literature. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 310. According to the MSL, the envoy's name is Minamoto Michikata 源通賢 (MSL, reign of Yung-lo 39:3a). The imperial gifts included the equivalent of 5,000 ingots of coin in paper money, 1500 coins, and 378 pieces of embroidery (MSL, reign of Yung-lo, 39:3b).



42. P'ian Tz'ü 潘鵬 graduated as chin-shih in 1404.
43. Yü Shih-chi became president of the censorate at the beginning of the Yung-lo period. Biographical sketch in MS 149:9ab.
44. Mt. Aso in Kyūshū. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 299.
45. Japanese records make no mention of official embassies in 1407, but two are recorded for 1408. The first left Hyōgo in the 2nd month, but little else is known about it. The second, under Keimitsu, reached China in the 11th month, returning to Kyōto in the 7th month of the following year. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 311, 415.
46. The envoy must be credited with considerable diplomatic skill. The empress had passed away in the 7th moon of 1407. She was born in 1362 into the Hsü 徐 clan and became the consort of the future emperor (then Prince of Yen) in 1376. It is said that she was fond of reading. The books in question, the Ch'üan shan 勸善 and Nei hsün 內訓, were works respectively of 20 chüan and 20 p'ien or sections. See MS 98:4a and 113:7b-8b. It may be noted that chüan nos. 16841 (incomplete) and 16842 of the Yung-lo ta-tien (compiled during the years 1403-1407), now preserved in the National Library of Peiping, are copied from the Ch'üan shan shu 勸善書. See Yüan T'ung-li, "Census of the extant volumes of the Yung-lo-ta-tien," Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography (Chinese edition), New Series, vol. 2, no. 3 (September, 1939), p. 281. This is just a fragment of the whole work by the empress. It was copied into chüan 16825-16844 inclusive (20 sections). See Yung-lo ta-tien mu-lu 永樂大典目錄 (in Lien Yün-i ts'ung shu 連筠簫書) 43:18a-19a.
- The Nei hsün has been translated into English by Emma Horning as "Family Instructions"; see Chinese Recorder, vol. 64 (1933), pp. 42-47, 100-110.
47. The second of the embassies of 1408. Cf. note 45 above.
48. Yoshimochi, the 4th Ashikaga Shōgun, who assumed office in 1395 when Yoshimitsu retired. The reference to the Crown Prince is of course erroneous. The Chinese who dealt with the Ashikaga Shōguns, the de facto rulers, whom they addressed as "Kings," had no clear knowledge of the existence of an Imperial House whose sovereigns reigned only in name and whose fortunes were at their lowest ebb during Ashikaga times. The tennō at the time was Gokomatsu (reigned 1392-1412).
49. The King, Yoshimochi. Yoshimochi, under the influence of men like Shiba Yoshimasa (1350-1410), who had objected to Yoshimitsu's policy of accepting a position of vassalage to China, hoped to terminate all relations with the Ming. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 305.



50. p'an-shih, an encampment in the prefecture of Wên-chou, modern Chekiang.
51. Sung-mên and P'ing-yang are located in Chekiang; Chin-hsiang in Shantung.
52. Lü Yüan was sent again in 1419, but he failed to obtain an audience with Yoshimochi. This was the last official Ming overture during Yoshimochi's rule. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 307-309, 311.
53. Zuïen represented the Shimazu Family, not the Shogunate. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 307.
54. 王家山島, apparently close to the Liaotung peninsula. Liu Jung (original name Chiang 江; died 1420) headed the Chinese army in Liaotung. His honors were conferred in the 9th moon of 1419. MS 106:32ab, 155:6a-7b.
55. Wang-hai-t'ò 望海埚 is on the northeastern coast of Liaotung, about 20 miles from Chin-hsien.
56. Ying-t'ao-yüan, in Jehol, approximately 26 miles northeast of P'ing-ch'üan 平泉 hsien.
57. This was the reign title of Chu Chan-chi (1398-1435), grandson of Chu Ti, who was emperor from 1426 to 1435. The MSL, Hsüan-tê period, 86:8b, has this same entry under the 7th year, first month, ping hsü (February 25, 1432). Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 327, note, however, considers that this occurred in 1431 rather than 1432. The Japanese decision to dispatch an embassy to the Ming had been made in 1431, and in the same year orders to prepare a cargo of sulphur had been sent to the Shimazu.
58. Both great geographical compendia of a few years later, Huan yü t'ung chih (completed 1456) and Ming i t'ung chih (completed 1461), bear witness to the number of states, great and small, which maintained contacts with China at this time.
59. Yoshinori, the 6th Ashikaga Shōgun, ruled from 1428 to 1441. The envoy mentioned here was the monk Dōen, a naturalized Chinese. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 319-320, 322, 416.
60. There is no mention in Japanese accounts of another mission between those of 1433 and 1435. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 322.
61. The 6th emperor Chu Ch'i-chên was canonized as Ying Tsung. He reigned from 1436 to 1449 under the title Chêng-t'ung and from 1457 to 1464 under the title T'ien-hsün.
62. Six ships comprised this embassy which left Japan in 1434 and returned in 1436. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 322.



63. Tally system, so called because every licensed trader had a tally issued by the Chinese government through the Shōgun, which was matched against a duplicate held by the Chinese, when the trader appeared in a designated Chinese port. In effect, these embassies were private commercial undertakings, the ships and cargoes provided by wealthy lords or Buddhist monasteries in the name of the Shōgun. For example, the embassy of 1433, mentioned above, consisted of five ships jointly sponsored by the Daigo and Dajō-in temples, the Hatakeyama, Ichiki, Hosokawa, Akamatsu, and Yamana families, besides the Shogunate itself. This system of trade is explained in Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 328-336. See also Chang Teh-ch'ang, "Maritime trade at Canton during the Ming dynasty," Chinese Social and Political Science Review (Peking), vol. 17, no. 2 (July, 1933), pp. 271-272.
64. All four places are in modern Chekiang.
65. Ch'ang-kuo-wei is in Ting-hai hsien, Chekiang.
66. The Hung-hsi era, which lasted but one year, 1425, represents the short reign of Chu Kao-chih (1378-1425), eldest son of Chu Ti by the empress Jên Hsiao.
67. Huang-yen in Chekiang; Lung-yen in Fukien.
68. Lo-ch'ing in Chekiang.
69. Ching-t'ai is the era of Chu Ch'i-yu (1428-1457), younger brother of Chu Ch'i-chên whom he replaced during the years 1450-1457, after the latter had been taken prisoner by the Mongols.
70. Lin-ch'ing, a well known port on the Grand Canal, in modern Shantung.
71. Concluded by Yoshinori and the Ming envoy in 1433. Cf. Kuno, Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent, vol. 1, p. 106.
72. Yoshimasa, the 8th Ashikaga Shōgun (ruled 1449-1473). Before 1453 he was known as Yoshinari.
73. This is the reign title of Chu Chien-shên (1439-1487) who succeeded Chu Ch'i-chên in 1464.
74. This embassy has a long history. Seikei was appointed envoy as early as 1458 after which an agent was sent to Korea to inquire about the latest situation in the Ming Court. In 1464, after financial aid from the Ōuchi Family was secured, the party sailed, only to be turned back by a storm. It finally left Japan in 1468. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 343-344.
75. This is not a separate embassy from the one mentioned immediately above. Seikei's party had reached Ningpo in the 5th month of 1468. This later date is doubtless that



of his arrival in the Chinese capital. His embassy is reported twice in the 11th moon in the MSL: first, at the time of his arrival at the court with tribute (December 2); second, on the occurrence of the affair at the market and Seikei's plea for the administration of justice by his own country's officials (December 10). See MSL, Ch'êng-hua period, 60:8a and 9 ab. It is especially well known because of the presence in the ambassadorial party of the painter Sesshū. See Jon Carter Covell, Under the Seal of Sesshū (New York, 1941), p. 21. Seikei's own account of his embassy survives. See "Jishi Nyūmin Yorei," in Yūhō-den Sōsho, vol. 4, contained in the Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho, vol. 116. We know that he did not return to Japan until the 8th month of 1469 when he disembarked at Tosa. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 323, 418.

76. This embassy sailed from Sakai in 1476, returning in 1478. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 324. The Fo-tsu t'ung-chi is a well known work in 54 chüan, compiled by Chih-p'ian 志磐, a monk who flourished in the years 1258-1269. Cf. A Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature (Shanghai, reprinted 1922), pp. 209-210 and Hôbôgirin, fascicule annexe, No. 2036.
77. The Fa yüan chu lin, a work in 100 chüan, was compiled in 668 by the monk Tao-shih 道世 (died 683). Cf. Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 207 and Hôbôgirin, fascicule annexe, No. 2122.
78. A kuan is a string of 1000 cash.
79. This embassy also sailed from Sakai in 1483 and returned in 1485. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 324.
80. Hung-chih, the era of Chu Yu-t'ang (1470-1505), who succeeded his father Chu Chien-shên in 1488.
81. Yoshitaka, the 11th Ashikaga Shōgun, who ruled from 1494 to 1507. He was known as Yoshizumi after 1502. The embassy referred to here had been commissioned by Yoshitane (ruled 1490-1493), the 10th Ashikaga Shōgun, and had left Sakai in 1493. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 324, 422.
82. Chi-ning, in modern Shantung.
83. Probably not an official tribute-bearing embassy.
84. Wu Tsung, dynastic title of Chu Hou-chao (1491-1521), whose reign, known as Chêng-tê, lasted from 1506 to 1521.
85. This embassy, like that of 1509, cannot be verified in Japanese accounts.
86. Yoshizumi, cf. note 81 above.
87. Sō Sokyō represented Hosokawa, a local lord, rather than Yoshizumi. Sokyō reached Ningpo in 1510, a full year



- before the official embassy, appointed in 1509, arrived. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 325, 332.
88. Liu Chin, a eunuch who became virtually the dictator of his time. He was executed in 1510.
  89. This is the official embassy of 1509, referred to above, which finally sailed from western Japan in the spring of 1511. Cf. note 87 above.
  90. Chia-ching, the era of Chu Hou-tsung (1507 - January 23, 1567) who reigned from 1522 until his death. Cf. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 445.
  91. This incident illustrates the keen rivalry among the local lords of Kyūshū and western Honshū over trading rights in China. Sōsetsu, the official envoy, headed a party of three ships, all owned by the Ōuchi Family. Thereupon, Hosokawa obtained outdated tallies from the Shōgun and separately dispatched Sō Sokyō and Zuien. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 325-333, 424.
  92. Shao-hsing, an important city in Chekiang, about 60 miles from Ningpo.
  93. Ou Chu, a native of T'ung-ch'uan, Szechuan, who graduated as chin-shih in 1511.
  94. Tara Yoshioki -- Ōuchi Yoshioki (1477-1528), the 25th in line of the Ōuchi Family, lords of Suō in western Honshū, whose genealogy reveals the interesting fact that it traces its ancestry to a Prince Tatara 多々良 of Imna, Korea, who had migrated to Suō during Empress Suiko's reign (593-628), and later assumed the name of the district, Ōuchi. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 1, pp. 1084-1086.
  95. Hsiung Lan, native of Nan-ch'ang, Kiangsi, who became chin-shih in 1511. Chang Ch'ung, a fellow townsman of Ou Chu, who graduated in the same year. His biography in MS 192: 5b-9a does not mention this memorial.
  96. Chang Ch'in graduated as chin-shih in 1502. MS 208:1b-2b.
  97. Hsia Yǎn (1482-1548) became prime minister in 1536. Cf. MS 196:20b-29a.
  98. Liu Mu, native of Lin-fên, Shansi, who qualified for the chin-shih in 1517.
  99. Wang Tao graduated as chin-shih in 1511; he was a native of Wu-ch'êng, Shantung.
  100. Yoshiharu, the 12th Ashikaga Shōgun. He ruled from 1522-1546.
  101. All three ships of this embassy were owned by the Ōuchi. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 326.



102. Sekitei, who headed the embassy of 1539. Cf. note above.
103. Not listed among the official embassies sent by Yoshiharu. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 325-326. In the MSL, Chia-ching reign, 289:1a, this event is listed under the 8th moon, mou-ch'ên, or August 19, and the name of the envoy is given as the monk Jukō 壽光.
104. Kao Chieh 高節. There are several men by this name in the 16th century. The one in question may have been a native of Ch'êng-tu, Szechuan, who was ranked third among the chin-shih of 1532.
105. Yang Chiu-ts'ê, born in Sian, Shensi, graduated as chin-shih in 1538.
106. Chu Wan (1492-1549) was a native of Ch'ang-chou, Kiangsu. His biography in MS 205:1a-3b relates that he was made commander-in-chief of defenses in Chekiang and Fukien in the 7th month.
107. Shuryō's party of four ships, again representing the Ōuchi interests but sailing under the name of the Shōgun, had sailed from Gotō in the 5th month of 1547. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 326.
108. Ning and T'ai are both in Chekiang.
109. 孝武兩朝 refers to the two emperors Hsiao Tsung and Wu Tsung, whose reign titles were Hung-chih and Chêng-tê.
110. Other sources confirm that during the period 1550 to 1563 there was at least one raid, sometimes several, every year. Chekiang suffered the most frequently, possibly because it was the most prosperous area in China at this time.
111. Min is another name for Fukien. Chou Liang was born in Hou-kuan hsien, prefecture of Foochow, and graduated as chin-shih in 1532.
112. Wang Chih, a native of Hsi (Anhui province), and his three fellow rebels collaborated with the Japanese pirates during the years 1553-1554 according to the biography of Hu Tsung-hsien (mentioned above, p. 131, line 4) in MS 205:8a.
113. Wang Yü, father of Wang Shih-chên (1526-1590), was put to death in 1559 in Yën Sung. Actually he was then second vice-president of the censorate according to his official biography in MS 204:19a-22b.
114. The Kiang, the Yangtze River.
115. See note 65 above.
116. T'ai-ts'ang, Shang-hai, and Chiang-yin are all in Kiangsu.
117. Ch'a-p'u in Chekiang.



118. Chin-shan in Kiangsu.
119. Ch'ung-ming, Ch'ang-shu, and Chia-ting are all in Kiangsu.
120. Soochow and Sung-chiang are both in Kiangsu.
121. T'ung-chou is situated near the mouth of the Yangtze and T'ai-chou is in the prefecture of Yangchow.
122. Chia-shan is in Chekiang.
123. Ch'ung-tê hsien and Chia-hsing are both in Chekiang.
124. Chê-lin is in the Sung-chiang prefecture, Kiangsu.
125. Ta-t'ung is in the northern part of Shansi.  
Li T'ien-ch'ung, native of Mêng-chin, Honan, who too came to the governorship via the office of junior vice-president of the censorate. MS 205:6ab.
126. Chang Ching; from his biography in MS 205:4a it would appear that he became the Nanking minister of war in 1553, as Nieh Pao 倪 韶 was the president of the board of war at the court (MS 112:11a).
127. Ch'uan-sha, in Sung-chiang, Kiangsu.
128. T'ang-chi, Hsin-shih, Shuang-lin, and Tê-ch'ing hsien are all in modern Chekiang; Hêng-t'ang in Kiangsu.
129. Wang-chiang-ching in Chekiang.
130. Chiang-yin, Wu-sih, and T'ai-hu are all in Kiangsu.
131. Chao Wên-hua, a politician in favor at court, who became president of the board of works in the 3rd moon, 1556; he was dismissed in the 8th moon of the following year, and died on his way home (Tz'ü-ch'i, Chekiang). Cf. MS 212:12a and Ku Chieh-kang, "A Study of Literary Persecution during the Ming." Translated by L. Carrington Goodrich. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, vol. 3, nos. 3 & 4 (December, 1938), p. 287.
132. Chou Ch'ung, a native of Ying-ch'êng, Hupeh, was at this time supervising censor of the board of civil office. MS 205:6b. Hu Tsung-hsien, chin-shih in 1538, was sent out in 1554 to subdue Wang Chih and the others. MS 205:8a.
133. Yang I, chin-shih of 1523, was censor at the time of appointment. MS 205:6b.
134. Pei-hsin-kuan is located 10 li north of the Wu-lin gate of Hangchow.
135. Shun-an is in Chekiang; all the other places, Hui-chou to T'ai-p'ing-fu inclusive, are in Anhui; Wuhu is an important port on the Yangtze River.
136. Chiang-ning is in Kiangsu.
137. The Ta An-tê-mên 大安德門 was one of the 7 gates on the south side of the Nanking city wall. Louis Gaillard, in



describing the raid on Nanking, says that the pirates came via 72 boats; cf. his Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui. Aperçu historique et géographique. (Variétés sino-logiques No 23) (Chang-hai, 1903), p. 205.

138. Chia-kang 夾岡, an eminence in Chên-chiang (Chinkiang) prefecture, 22 li north of the district city of Tan-yang. Mo-ling pass, in Chên-chiang.
139. Li-shui, Li-yang, I-hsing, and Wu-chin are all districts in Kiangsu.
140. Hui-shan is west of Wu-sih city.
141. Hu-shu, a pass northwest of Wu-hsien, Kiangsu.
142. Yang-lin ch'iao 楊林橋, a bridge in Li-shui hsien, according to MSL, Chia-ching period, 425:1a.
143. This same figure appears in MSL, Chia-ching period, 425: 5a under date of 8th month, Jen-ch'ên, equivalent to September 15, 1555. But later, in the 9th month, ping-tzû (October 29) of the same year, the MSL (ibid., 427: 3a) relates that the raiders numbered from several thousand in each band to not less than several hundred. This is contained in a report made by Ts'ao Pang-fu, mentioned below, and seems much more realistic.
144. Ts'ao Pang-fu graduated as chin-shih in 1532.
145. T'ao-chê, a market town 6 miles northwest of Fêng-hsien in the prefecture of Sung-chiang, Kiangsu.
146. Chekiang and Chihli (modern Hopei province).
147. A Chuan-ch'iao is listed in the Sung-chiang-fu (edition of 1819) 4:6b, but without description.
148. Lo-ch'ing on the Chekiang coast.
149. All these places, Huang-yen to Ch'êng-hsien inclusive, are in modern Chekiang.
150. The three prefectural centers of Wên-chou, T'ai-chou, and Shao-hsing.
151. Jih-chao in I-chou prefecture, Shantung.
152. Huai-an, Kan-yü, T'ao-yüan, and Ch'ing-ho are all in modern Kiangsu province.
153. Chou-p'u is in Nan-hui hsien, Kiangsu.
154. Chia-ting is in Kiangsu.
155. Yüan O graduated as chin-shih in 1544. MS 205:13b.
156. The Chou-shan are islands off the coast of northern Chekiang.
157. The Liang Chê were the eastern and western parts of Chekiang province.



158. Tz'ü-ch'i, near Ningpo.
159. Li-piao, in the Ting-hai district.
160. T'ung-hsiang, in Chekiang.
161. Presumably the Liang-chuang chai 寨, or fortress, 40 li east of Ping-hu, prefecture of Chia-hsing. In the year 1440 the censor Li K'uei 李魁, because of trouble with the Japanese pirates at this spot, memorialized the throne asking for the construction of a great fort here. Chia-ch'ing ch'ung-hsiu i-t'ung-chih 嘉慶重修一統志 237: 16a.
162. Tan-yang is in Chên-chiang prefecture, Kua-chou in Yang-chou prefecture, and Ju-kao in T'ung-chou at the mouth of the Yangtze.
163. Miao-wan, near Fu-ning, Kiangsu.
164. Bungo, province in northeastern Kyūshū.
165. Minamoto Yoshinaga -- Ōuchi Yoshinaga (died 1557) of Suō. The Ōuchi, though not descendants of the Minamoto, had been officially confirmed by the Minamoto as an ally for having supported it in their wars against the Taira in the 12th century. Hence, the assumption of this clan-name. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 1, pp. 1084-1086. See also note 94 above.
166. King's seal, probably one made by the Ōuchi in imitation of the golden seal given by the Ming Court to the Third Ashikaga Shōgun, Yoshimitsu. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, pp. 448, 452.
167. Minamoto Yoshishige -- Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587), also known as Ōtomo Sorin, of Bungo, remembered for his cordial relations with the Christians. Tradition traces descent of his family to Yoritomo. Cf. Ōta, Seishi kakei dai-jiten, vol. 1, pp. 1241-1244.
168. Zemmyō represented the Ōtomo Family. Cf. Kimiya, Nisshi kōtsū-shi, vol. 2, p. 448.
169. Lu Tang, a native of Ju-ning wei, Honan. MS 212:8b.
170. Wang Pên-ku, chin-shih of 1544.
171. Ko-hai, like Ch'ên-chiang, is in Ting-hai district.
172. Ch'üan-chou, Fukien, one of the major ports of mediaeval times.
173. T'ung-an, Hui-an, and Nan-an are all in the prefecture of Ch'üan-chou.
174. Fu-an and Ning-tê are in Fu-ning-fu.
175. Fu-ch'ing and Yung-fu are in the prefecture of Foochow.
176. Hsing-hua and Chang-chou are both on the Fukien coast.



177. Ch'ao = Ch'ao-chou-fu on the northeast coast of Kuangtung.  
Kuang = Kuang-chou-fu, or Canton.
178. p'ing-hai wei, a military station in the prefecture of Hsing-hua.
179. Yü Tai-yu (died 1580). MS 212:1a-8b. On the date of his death, correct Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, No. 2530.  
Ch'i Chi-kuang (1528-1587). MS 212:11a-17b. Correct Giles, ibid., No. 304.  
Liu Hsien (died 1581). MS 212:18a-21b.
180. The Lung-ch'ing era (1567-1572) was the reign of Chu Tsai-hou (1537-1572).
181. Chieh-shih in Hui-chou prefecture, and Chia-tzŭ in Hui-lai district, both in Kuangtung.
182. Hua-chou, a department in Kao-chou prefecture, Kuangtung. Chin-nang-so, 100 li northeast of Hsü-wên hsien, Kuangtung.
183. Shên-tien wei, 180 li southeast of Tien-pai hsien, Kao-chou fu. Wu-ch'uan to Hui-lai inclusive are all districts in Kuangtung.
184. Lei, Lien, and Ch'iuang are all prefectures in Kuangtung.
185. Wan-li (1573-1620) is the era of Chu I-chün (1563-1620).
186. T'ung-ku-wei is in Ch'ih-ch'i district, and Shuang-yü-so in Yang-chiang district.
187. Tien-pai, a district in Kuangtung.
188. Chiu-shan is in the sea 100 li southeast of Hsiang-shan, Chekiang.
189. P'êng-hu are the Pescadores.
190. Ch'ên Jui, a native of Ch'ang-lo, Fukien, graduated as chin-shih in 1553.
191. The kwampaku was a regent who ruled during the minority of a tennō.
192. Nobunaga -- Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), Lord of Owari, who was virtual Shōgun after 1568 when he subdued Yamashiro, one of the so-called Inner Provinces in the Kyōto region, and installed Yoshiaki, the 15th and last of the Ashikaga line, as nominal Shōgun. For an account of his rise to power, cf. James A. Murdoch, A History of Japan (London, 1903-1926), vol. 2, chapters 6 and 7.
193. Taira Hideyoshi -- Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1539-1598). Little is known about Hideyoshi's ancestry except that it was of peasant stock. Before his rise to power he had assumed such names as Kinoshita, Hashiba, and Taira. In 1585 when he became Kwampaku, he took the name of Fujiwara.



Two years later, when he became Dajō-daijin (Prime Minister), Go-Yōzei Tennō conferred on him the family-name of Toyotomi. For a biography in English, see Walter Denning, A New Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (Tokyo, 1930), vi, 406 pp.

194. Settsu, one of the Five Inner Provinces.
195. Akechi Mitsuhide (1528-1582) who entered the services of Nobunaga in 1566 and was later rewarded with a fief in Shiga. For a discussion of his motives in killing Nobunaga, cf. Murdoch, A History of Japan, vol. 2, pp. 132-140.
196. Yukinaga -- Konishi Yukinaga (died 1600), a Christian convert, who participated in many of Hideyoshi's campaigns and who was later enfeoffed at Udo in Kyūshū. At this time he was on a campaign with Hideyoshi against the Mori in the central provinces. For a biographical account, cf. Yashiro Kuniiji (editor), Kokushi dai-jiten (Tōkyō, 1927), vol. 2, pp. 1094-1095.
197. Akechi Mitsuhide was killed by a peasant after his forces had been routed by Hideyoshi.
198. The Fo-lang-chi of the text (= Feringis or Franks) stood originally for the Portuguese. Cf. T'ien-tsê Chang, Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644 (Leiden, 1934), p. 35, note 1, and Paul Pelliot, "Le Hoja et Sayyid Husain de l'Histoire des Ming," T'oung Pao (Leiden), [New Series] vol. XXXVIII, Livr. 2-5 (1948), p. 86.
199. For a discussion of Hideyoshi's ambitious schemes, cf. Akiyama, Nisshi kōshō-shi kenkyū, pp. 55-63. It is known that Hideyoshi made these demands on Liu-chiu and the other countries, but no tribute is believed to have been sent in response to them.
200. Bunroku (1592-1595).
201. T'ung-an, a district in Ch'üan-chou prefecture, Fukien.
202. Chao Ts'an-lu, who graduated as chin-shih in 1571, became governor in 1589. MS 221:13b.
203. Kiyomasa -- Katō Kiyomasa (1559-1611), best known among Hideyoshi's generals. He was given a large fief in Kyūshū. For a brief biographical account, cf. Yashiro, Kokushi dai-jiten, vol. 2, p. 610.
204. Yukinaga -- Konishi Yukinaga. The division he commanded was composed almost entirely of Christian converts. For his differences with Katō, who was a staunch Buddhist, cf. Murdoch, A History of Japan, vol. 2, pp. 319-320.
205. Yoshitomo (died 1615) of the Sō Family, lords of Tsushima. Yoshitomo was also a Christian convert and commanded a unit under Konishi. For a biographical account, cf.

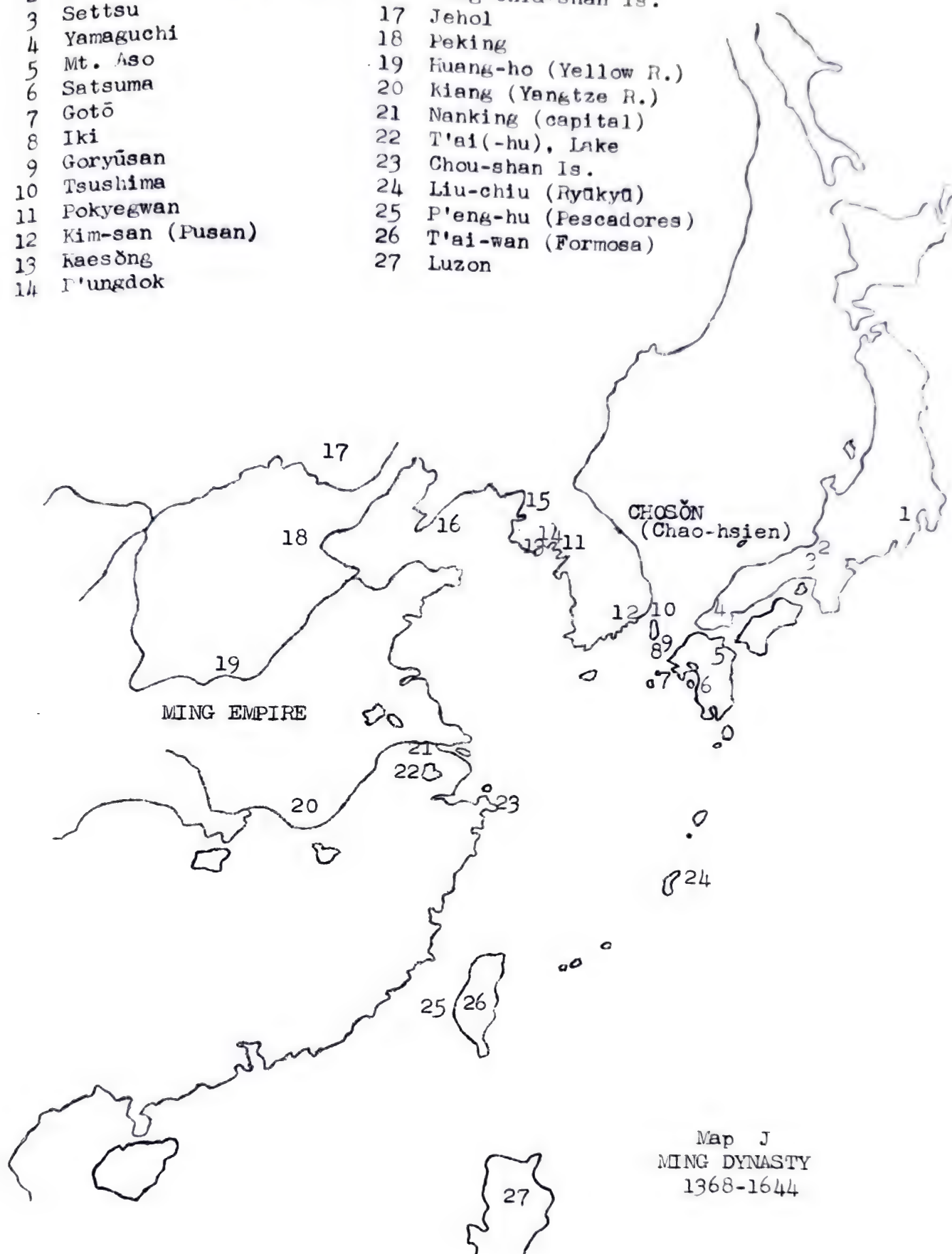


Yashiro, Kokushi dai-jiten, vol. 3, p. 1588.

206. Ganso, or Genso, a monk in the services of the Sō Family. In 1588 he had accompanied Sō Yoshitoshi on a mission to Korea on the orders of Hideyoshi. Cf. Murdoch, A History of Japan, vol. 2, pp. 307, 310, 331.
207. Shuetsu, identity unknown.
208. On the first phases of the invasion and on the retreat, cf. the detailed study by W.G. Aston, "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tokyo), vol. VI, part 2 (9 February - 27 April 1878; reprinted 1889), pp. 227-245 [Introduction; Chapter I. The Invasion]; vol. IX, part 1 (reprinted October 1906), pp. 89-96 [Chapter II. The Retreat].
209. Sung Ying-ch'ang graduated as chin-shih in 1565. Ming shih kao 212:8b.
210. Li Ju-sung (died 1598) was the eldest son of Li Ch'êng-liang (1526-1615), an officer of Korean origin who became Chinese commander in Liaotung and served up to 1591. MS 238:1a and 10a.
211. The Ning-hsia rebellion broke out in the 3rd moon of 1592.
212. Shih Hsing (1538-1599) was minister of war from 1591 to 1597. MS 112:20b-22a and Ming shih kao 312:7b.
213. Chia-hsing is in Chekiang province.
214. On these events see the chapter on Korea in MS 320:15b. The latest and most reliable study of the Japanese campaign in Korea is that of Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Bunroku Keichō no eki (Tōkyō, 1936), vol. 1.
215. Hideyoshi died on the 18th day, 8th month, of 1598. For the last phases of the invasion, cf. W.G. Aston, "Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Tokyo), vol. XI, part 1 (reprinted 1912), pp. 117-125 [Chapter IV. The Second Invasion].



- |    |                        |    |                       |
|----|------------------------|----|-----------------------|
| 1  | Kamakura (Shōgun seat) | 15 | Pyongyang             |
| 2  | Kyōto (capital)        | 16 | Wang-chia-shan Is.    |
| 3  | Settsu                 | 17 | Jehol                 |
| 4  | Yamaguchi              | 18 | Peking                |
| 5  | Mt. Aso                | 19 | Huang-ho (Yellow R.)  |
| 6  | Satsuma                | 20 | Kiang (Yangtze R.)    |
| 7  | Gotō                   | 21 | Nanking (capital)     |
| 8  | Iki                    | 22 | T'ai(-hu), Lake       |
| 9  | Goryūsan               | 23 | Chou-shan Is.         |
| 10 | Tsushima               | 24 | Liu-chiu (Ryūkyū)     |
| 11 | Pokye-gwan             | 25 | P'eng-hu (Pescadores) |
| 12 | Kim-san (Pusan)        | 26 | T'ai-wan (Formosa)    |
| 13 | Kaesŏng                | 27 | Luzon                 |
| 14 | P'ungdok               |    |                       |



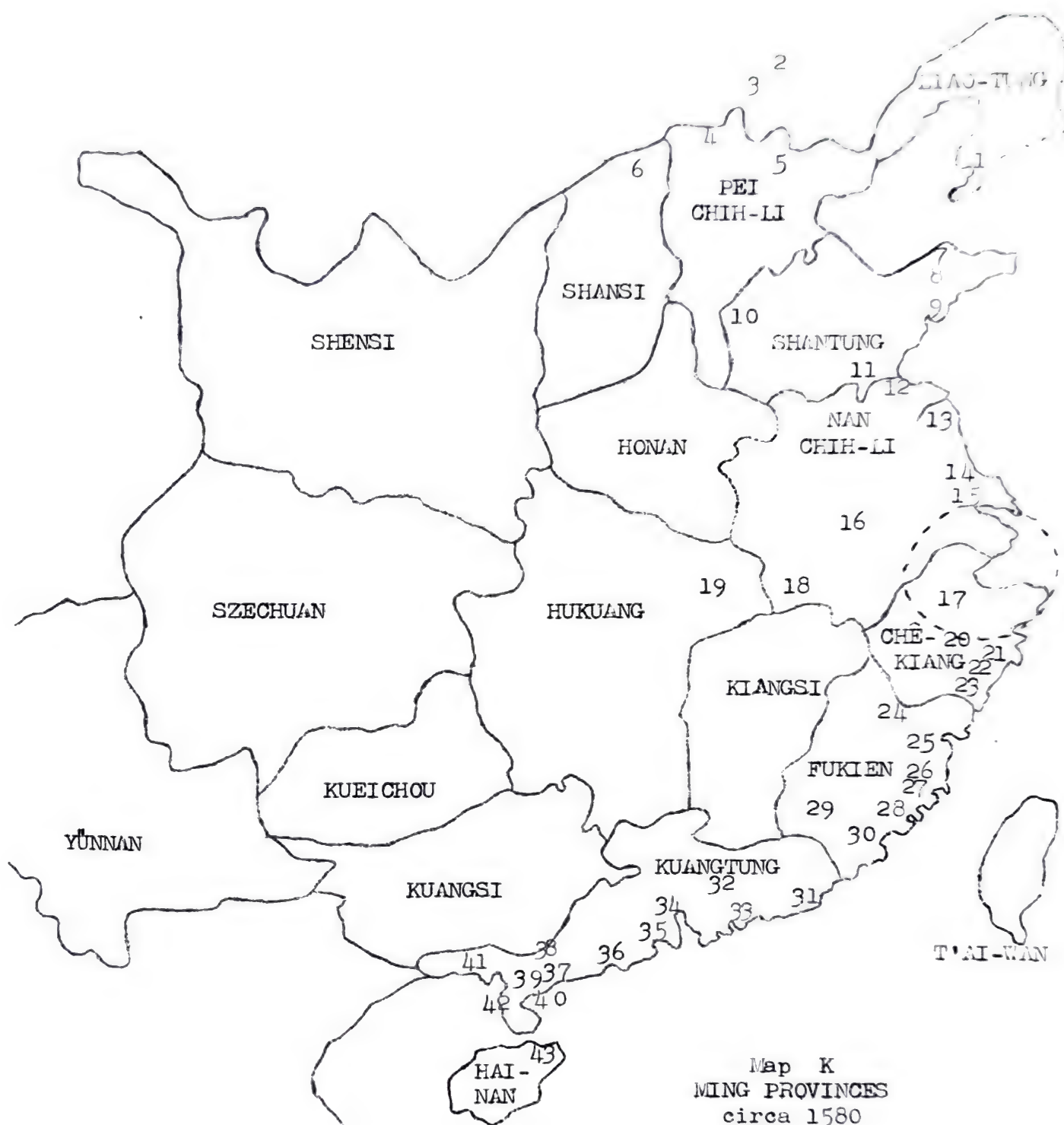


## KEY TO MAP K

- |                                      |                            |                              |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Wang-hai-t'o<br>(Sentinel Heights) | 18 Chin-hsiang             | 30 Chang-chou                |
| 2 Yi-t'ao-yüan                       | 19 Chiang-hsia             | 31 Ch'ao-chou-fu             |
| 3 (Ying-t'ao-yüan)                   | 20 Hsien-chü               | 32 Hsin-ning                 |
| 3 Jehol                              | 21 T'ai-chou               | 33 Chieh-shih<br>Hai-fêng    |
| 4 Kuang Ning                         | 22 Huang-yen               | 34 Kuang-chou-fu<br>(Canton) |
| 5 Peking                             | 23 P'an-shih<br>P'ing-yang | T'ung-ku-wei                 |
| 6 Ta-t'ung                           | 24 Chien-ning              | 35 Chia-tzu                  |
| 7 Têng(-chou)                        | 25 Foochow                 | Hui-lai                      |
| 8 Lai-chou                           | Fu-an                      | 36 Shuang-yü-so              |
| 9 Chiao-chou                         | Fu-ch'ing                  | 37 Tien-pai                  |
| 10 Lin-ch'ing                        | Ning-tê                    | 38 Mou-ming                  |
| 11 Jih-chao                          | Yung-fu                    | 39 Chin-nang-so<br>Hua-chou  |
| 12 Kan-yü                            | 26 Hsing-hua               | Shên-tien-wei                |
| 13 Huai-an                           | P'ing-hai-wei              | Shih-ch'êng                  |
| Pao-ying                             | 27 Lo-ch'ing               | 40 Wu-ch'uan                 |
| 14 Kua-chou                          | 28 Ch'üan-chou             | 41 Lien(-chou)               |
| T'ai-chou                            | Hui-an                     | 42 Lei(-chou)                |
| Yang-chou                            | Nan-an                     | 43 Ch'üung(-chou)            |
| 15 I-hsing                           | T'ung-an                   |                              |
| Kao-yu                               | 29 Lung-yen                |                              |
| 16 T'ai-p'ing-fu                     |                            |                              |
- 17 This number includes all places within the dotted circle, principally the Nanking-Shanghai locality, as follows:

Ch'a-p'u	Ch'ung-tê hsien	Pei-hsin-kuan
Ch'ang-kuo-wei	Fêng-hua	Shang-hai hsien
Ch'ang-shu	Hai-mên	Shang-yü
Chê-lin	Hai-ning	Shao-hsing
Ch'ên	Hai-yen	Soochow
Ch'êng-hsien	Hang-chou	Sung-chiang
Chi-ch'i	Hsi-hsien	T'ai-hu
Chia-hsing	Hsiang-shan	T'ai(-hu), Lake
Chia-kang	Hui-shan	Tan-yang
Chia-shan	Ju-kao	T'ao-chê
Chia-ting	Kan-p'u	Tê-ch'ing hsien
Chiang-ning	Ko-hai	Ting-hai hsien
Chiang-yin	Li-piao	T'ung-chou
Chin-shan	Li-shui	T'ung-hsiang
Ching-tê	Li-yang	Tz'ü-ch'i
Ch'ing-ho	Liang-chuang(chai)	Wang-chiang-ching
Chiu-shan	Nanking	Wu-chên
Chou-p'u	Nan-ling	Wu-chin
Chou-shan Islands	Ning	Wuhu
Ch'uan-sha	Ning-chou	Wu-sih
Ch'ung-ming	Ningpo	Yü-yao







## PLACE NAME INDEX

For the text, notes [n], and maps. The maps are designated by page numbers and capital letters: A = Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25-220), B = Three Kingdoms (Wei, Shu Han, Wu: 220-265), C = Liu Sung Dynasty (420-479), D = Sui Dynasty (581-618), E = T'ang Dynasty (618-907), F = Sung Dynasty (960-1279), G = Japanese Provinces (as of 984), H = Yüan Dynasty (1260-1368), I = Kyūshū at the time of the Mongol invasions, J = Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), K = Ming Provinces circa 1580. The numbers following these letters are location numbers on the maps.

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